AKWESASNE NOTES

"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

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NEEDED FOR NOTES

Duffel wool (any color.) coffee mugs, flashlights, kerosene lamps and lanterns, mitts and gloves, blankets and sheets, rugs, winter boots (kids' and big folks'), axe heads and handles, books about social change movement history, winter clothing, books about the fur industry, books on New York State geography.

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It is possible to arrange for speakers on Native subjects for your school or community. To make arrangements, simply write AKWESASNE NOTES or call (518) 483-2540. Honoraria vary from speaker to speaker

AKWESASNE NOTES
WHEN THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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HOW IT IS WITH US

Sometimes we drift. The work and the overall direction we have imposed on ourselves are not easy to uphold. We all come out of fragmented lives, and we have taken on the duties of a struggle that attempts to unite. It is possible at times that we go for days and weeks and months riding on that perception, feeling strong in the immediate and ultimate sanity of it--and then it crumbles before our eyes and we are left alone, bewildered.

The work here is overwhelming at times--and not only in that it takes up a great deal of our time, and that there is always something else to do, always several things to do--but even more overwhelmingly in that we are struggling to help thrive a vision of existance that is all but forgotten-- and constantly under attack.

So we fight not to drift away and to do that sometimes we must impose ourselves on ourselves--we must tighten up, we must keep strong.

It is easy to drift. There is a world around us which is designed to pull apart our every strength – offering charms, and superior attitudes and noise – dividing us from ourselves and from each other. But a certain kind of strength is easy too – the kind of strength that won't be shared, which allows self-discipline to become the justification not to truly lead – which is to say – not to guide.

Sometimes we lose a brother for lack of a kind nudge at the right time. Sometimes the strongest of us are paralyzed in our own strength and walk on fast and then there is no one left at the edge of the road to point the way.

Sometimes the strong are not so strong in truth--and so hold on to their strength like with a savings account and becone stingy, and only make loans, and then one day they repossess – and people drift.

But we become whatever we do and we reflect whatever we are and you can't travel two ways at once--you are either on the path to integrity or you are desintegrating–and the people always know.

Those of us fortunate enough to travel to Geneva this past week for the United Nations Conference on the Indigenous People of the Americas, sponsored by the Non-governmental Organizations Subcommittee on Racism, Decolonization, and Apartheid experienced some of that integrity.

Indian Peoples of the American continent united and for the first time in history presented their case to the world. Suffice it to say that nothing was missing. The culture, the politics, the spirituality, the respect for all living forms--all of that which make the nations strong was shown. And the history of oppression, the poverty, the colonialism, the confusion and the fear with which we have been subjugated--all that was told, documented, explained in detail. What one Nation forgot, another Nation remembered. It was good.

Unfortunately, this issue of NOTES is already too far along to deadline for us to attempt any real coverage of GENEVA. There is simply too much material. In our next issue we plan extensive coverage of it.

We are publishing in this issue, however, the three position papers that the Six Nations delegation presented in Geneva. We urge everyone to read them, and carefully.

They are among the most important documents AKWESASNE NOTES has ever published – presenting as they do not only a history of the Hau de no sau nee, but also a Native analysis of Western Civilization.

AKWESASNE NOTES also has offices at

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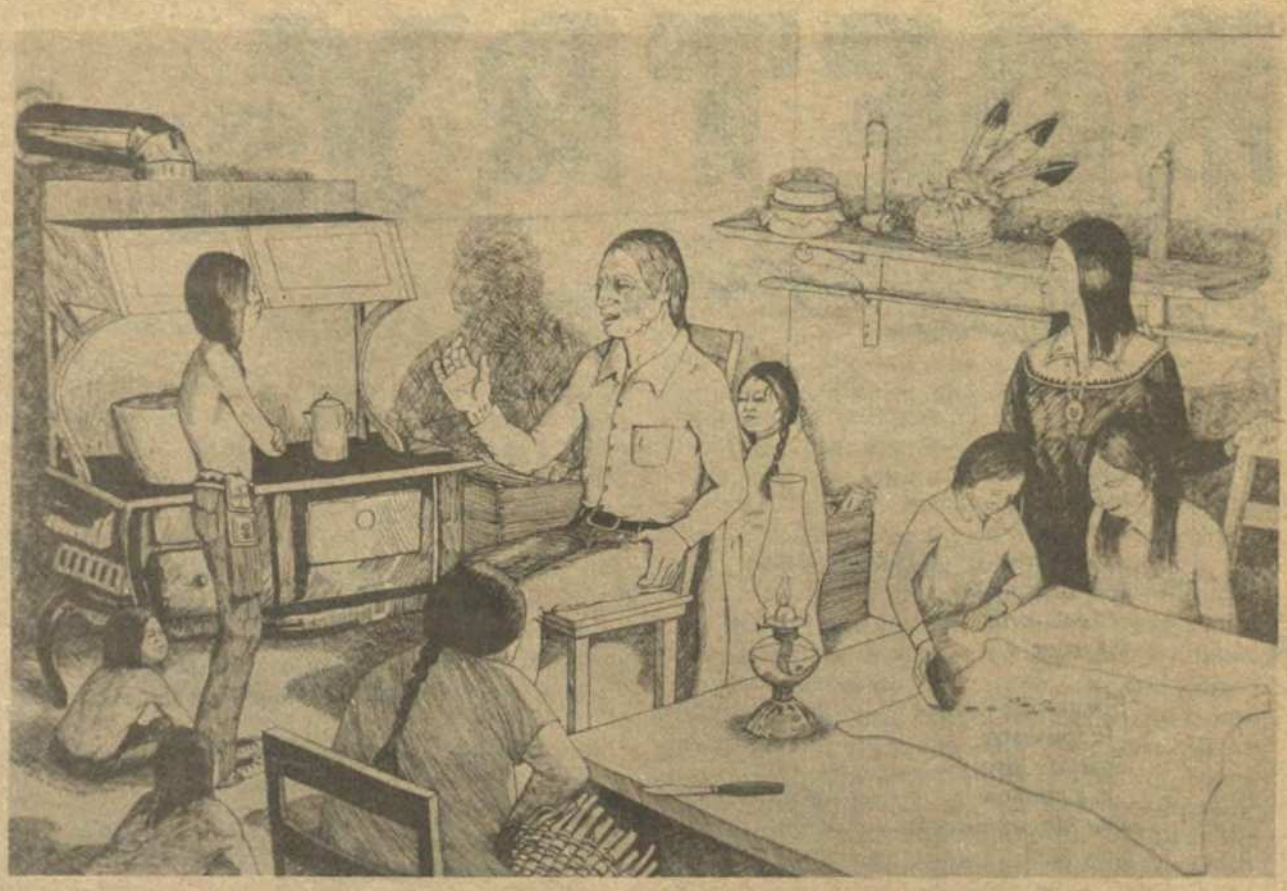

A LUNAR CALENDAR
BY AKWESASNE NOTES

The new AKWESASNE NOTES Calendar for 1978 will be ready in October. This is but a preview of a beautiful set of new pictures by Kahonhes, illustrating scenes of traditional Native self-sufficiency.

The cycles of our Grandmother, the moon, are given in different Native languages, and the phases of the moon are noted. The calendar is large – 17 X 22 inches – and each page is a separate work of art. It will fit nicely in homes, social centers, places of work.

We urge you to order now. Many of our friends were disappointed last year because we did not have enough calendars to fill all the orders we received.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed in a separate tube to an address you have supplied to us, with a gift card with your name and message enclosed. Or we can supply them to you in quantities for distribution in your own way.

The price is $3.50 per calendar, including postage and handling. Overseas orders please add an extra $1.00 for postage. Individual calendar orders must be prepaid.

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KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you the human beings who read these words. There are many ways – responsibilities, actually – readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

–take action on what you read. Write letters of support, think, and encourage your friends to learn and to grow.

–send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy. Date and identify all clippings. We need people who are send clippings from all over the world.

–send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. Cover an event of interest. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

–send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? Claims recipients? Urban center addresses?

–sell NOTES at a powwow, meeting, church, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Talk to people about the issues, raise consciousness. Do what you can to educate your community.

–suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of Native materials, and to help NOTES to survive.

–You can be a participant in the Native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform, AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared – and to you all, we are grateful.

Let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms ($4.60 and $6/year)
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Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. Since 5% or so of our readers do move between issues, that would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price – but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue cost well over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $3,000. And there are other expenses – typewriters, ibons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs of bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, government, etc.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's how the Creation's cycles keep moving.

Another issue will be eady for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated. Write:

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Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

sweet corn

the edge of autumn touches leaves
and sharpens
the morning air
white breath the river speaks
in tumbling, slowly tumbling
rising
mists of steam
a biting axe
is a dog bark
a cracking rifle
antlers
hollow ringing woods

a crow graws us welcome
(imagined)
as we harvest sweet corn
the field her summer warmth
still holds
in deep, rich earth
we bend to,
as a running breeze begins
the shushing corn dance
of our tall sisters
and the sweet grace of their motion
is the sacred ritual
of our people,

now, kneeling here upon a blanket
as rain taps lightly the windows,
braiding the sister corn into circlets
to be dried for the season of cold,

at winter's table
may we all
think upon
the first green shoots
those gone
and those to come.

Peter Blue Cloud (Aroniawenrate)

Grandmother moon
even in this city
concrete prison
I know you and
your dance across the sky
calling on your daughters to
complete the cycle
remember the pain of birth
as you weave the ocean's tides
so my womb fills with life's blood
it aches as one with the earth

my blood
falls on concrete
freezes cold in winter
diluted by slush
blood
falls on concrete
dries hard and brown in
hot summer
no longer fertile
in the spring
blood on concrete
is washed by rain
into a forgotten river
cancerous
rejected by the sea
my blood
runs cold onto concrete
seeking the earth

Oh
Grandmother moon
your dance across the sky
continues even in this
concrete prison
you call on your children
to complete the circle
we do not forget
the pain of birth
we bleed
spill our life's blood
we are one
with the earth

Luz Guerra

October boy
hides his secret
in the touch of his
hand or in a
can of beer
And slaps his leg
to call forth
the trout –

I heard him whisper
to the water
part his vision
in a rainbow
Felt him whimper in
my arms

I couldn't cry for
October boy
Because the north woods
changed color for him
and gave up
their sap

He throws his fears
to the pine fire smoke
watching it hover
and melt away
Time is no more than
swearing at labor
eating wild food
and going to sleep

Snow stars hiss at
the flames
where I search for dreams
With heavy magic eyes
he catches my thoughts
and smiles knowingly
over the fire
Hoping that October Boy
warms my heart –

Barney Bush

coming

who has given us
back our spirit?
moon
howling night-dogs
we were in the hills
waiting old man and woman
waiting for the dawn
of our people

who has sent the song
to the people?
turtle
sun-bear
the earth
was scraped away
and we did not laugh
as we waited

who has given
this to us?
mountain lion
resting-bird
we waited
among the elders
for this new dawn
for the old ways
to enter the
hearts of children
the animal -people dance,
weeping
our nation is coming.

Leilani Sauter

Water Colors

My painted people are orphans; they take me
to earth in great strides and beg the rain;

they are not afraid to strike the sun nor
open the water that seals their throats;

they are rich with pottery dust on their hands,
they are big with the pregnancy of peace;

they shoulder their happy dance-pain. They
call me mama, they

call me orphan.

Wendy Rose

the march at Paha Sapa

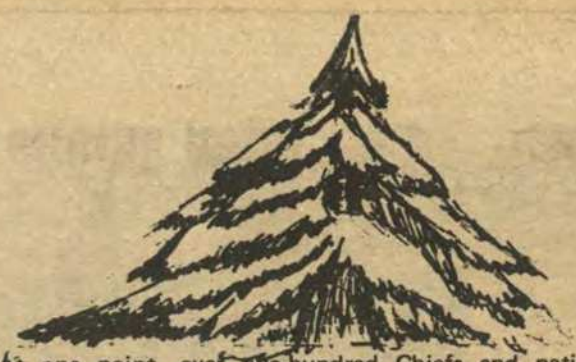
many old people
women with babes of a new day in their bellies
many,many children
the Warriors
proud
strong
the drum i hear
beats with my heart
all trudge up the mountain
the heat in my eyes
i see many, many people
die
on Trail of Tears
i feel their sorrow and pain
i mourn with my people
for Warriors that died proud
the Leaders pray
as we all walk down
i think of a new day

Denise Bellecourt

Our ways are good
but only in our world.
If you like the flame
on the white man's wick
learn of his ways,
so you can bear his company,
yet when you enter his world
you will walk like a stranger.
As I see beyond the days of now
I see a vision:
I see the faces of my people,
your sons' sons,
your daughters' daughters,
laughter fills the air
that is no longer yellow and heavy,
the machines have died,
quietness and beauty
have returned to the land.
The gentle ways of our race
have again put us
in the days of the old.
It is good to live!
It is good to die!
–This will happen.

Chief Dan George

THE INJURED ROOTS WILL HEAL



The two-hundred year resistance of the Native people against the powerful forces of the United States government has never really ended. That resistance has lain dormant and deeply submerged in the hearts and minds of our people; now it is the time of its re-emergence! It was kept alive in 1948, in the small villages of the Hopi Nation atop the high mesa in the land now called Arizona. The Hopi elders became alarmed when they sensed the wholesale destruction of the land and life that had taken place in the small insland of the people of the Rising Sun, (Japan,) when the atom bombs were dropped. The Hopi elders are wise in the laws of the natural world, laws which affect all living beings. They still know and use the ancient cosmic calendar. They have a deep understanding of human nature and they know the ancient history of humanity. They see the danger signs manifested everywhere that will lead to the eventual destruction of all life upon this planet Earth if the peoples direction is not changed.

They began, in 1948, to send out messengers to all Native Nations, warning them to stop following the white brother. The Hopi elders further stated that the white brothers are following a path that could only lead them to decay, death, and final destruction, and all who followed them would be equally doomed. Furthermore, they stressed the importance of all Native Nations to revive and follow their own traditional ways of life.

The Hopi elders also sent their messengers and Kikmongis (religious leaders) to the 'House of Mica' (United Nations Building), in accordance with their ancient instructions. For it had been foretold long ago by their ancestors that this 'House of Mica' would one day be built on the eastern shores of this land. And there they would find the leaders of all nations gathered. They were to warn these leaders that they were following a path leading only to destruction. They must stop plundering the resources in Mother Earth for the purpose of building destructive devices which were being used to destroy land and life. They should strive for peaceful ways to settle disputes and they should respect all life and all nations' cultural way of life.

Three times, since 1948, the Hopis have tried to meet with leaders of all nations, but the doors of the 'House of Mica' have remained closed to the indigenous peoples and nations of the Americas. Their latest attempt was in 1976, at the United Nations 'Habitat' Conference in Vancouver, Canada. But the so-called United Nations were too busy shouting and fighting with one another to listen to the Hopis and no time or place was allocated to them.

The League of Iroquois Nations still follow the ways of their ancestors. They still speak their native language. They still have the traditional form of a true democratic government. The Chiefs are installed by the 'Clan Mothers.' Who are better qualified than the women, who mold the character of the youth, who watch them grow from their first steps till the coming of manhood? They see their weaknesses and

The ancient history of the Native people has been kept alive, handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition. They too have seen the impending warning signs to all life. The white race is leading humanity to destruction!

At one point, over two-hundred Chiefs and native leaders organized a show of unity in front of the White House in Washington, D.C.. There they presented to the United States President a long list of grievances and demands for reform and correction. They quietly, with solemn dignity, met with the few congressional leaders in D.C. who were at least gracious enough to hear their words. And only when it became painfully obvious to all that no positive response would be forthcoming from the leaders of the United States, did they finally leave.

They did not give up. Safe in the homelands of the Iroquois Nations, they met and planned their future actions. They began the now historical journey which was to last over a decade and which was to take them thousands of arduous miles. They visited almost every Native community within the United States. They warned the Native people to turn away from the way of anti-life of the white people and to begin the task of reviving their own Native ways of life. Their words of wisdom fell upon the hungry hearts of the demoralized Native people and a few began to heed their warnings. The gestation period of the rebirth movement at long last began.

Slowly and painfully the minds of some of the Native people cleared; no easy task when you consider the two-hundred years of intense forced indoctrination. They brushed the cob-webs from their eyes, and began to relearn their true identity.

An old tradition that continues to exist is the use of a tree as a symbol of their nation. The Iroquois used the Pine Tree, which they called 'The Tree of Peace', as a symbol of the unity of the Six Nations. The Cottonwood was the sacred tree used in the Sundance as a symbol of the unity of the Sioux Nation. The Cedar Tree was the grandmother that lovingly protected and nourished the Native nations of the Northwest.

The Iroquois leaders tell us that when the white brother first came they welcomed him as a long lost brother. They fed and sheltered him. They listened in sympathy to his sad tales of oppression. They shared all that they owned freely with him . But soon the numbers of the white brother grew to alarmingly large numbers. They began to demand more and more. They began to push the native people out of their homelands. And though the natives valiantly resisted, the whites continued to push westwards--chopping down all the mighty trees.

The fruits of the mighty trees were freely given to the depressed nations of Europe. The hundreds of varieties of different foods, painstakingly developed through eons of time. Medicines, sports, great artifices and multitudes of useful crafts, knowledge on various subjects, including the true democratic process of governing (which the United States copied,) were freely given. The fruits from these mighty trees temporarily revived the dying European cultures. The European nations then greedily stripped the trees bare and then proceeded to chop them down. They planted millions of their own trees, seeking to establish permanent roots in their stolen land. They claimed ownership of all the land as well as the possessions and knowledge of the Native nations.

Nevertheless, the roots of the mighty trees did not die. Now the new young shoots have sprung up and they are sustained by the ancient roots buried deep in the Mother Earth.

The native way of life is one which constantly strives to retain balance and harmony with their environment.

The Native women were free souls and the complete mistresses of their bodies They were not 'beasts of burden' (a popular micsonception) nor were they merely breeding machines. There were no 'Witch Doctors' to order them 'to be fruitful and multiply and fill the Earth'. They had small families, one or two children in order not to over-populate their given territory. The children of many nations belonged to the mother's clan lineage. The care of the children was mostly in the hands of the grandparents, who instructed them in the ways of their people. Child abuse was a crime against the the whole nation.

All the basic necessities of life were free for the taking. Food, fuel, and shelter, as well as human companionship or solitude, were freely given. Because of the Native peoples' respect for all forms of life there was a great abundance and little time and effort was needed to gather the necessities of life. Imagine a well-stocked supermarket, that was the way it was. In those days the people had time to ponder the great Mysteries of Life, they could expand their knowledge of self and the universe and fulfill themselves as total human beings. There was no need for pisons, mental institutes or hospitals.

The Native societies, in their traditional state, were neither patriarchal nor matriarchal – leaders emerged naturally out of both sexes and none attempted to dominate the others. The people lived harmoniously in a natural order, all gathered resources were evenly shared and the work load evenly istributed. They took only what was necessary from the animal, bird, and plant kingdoms to sustain their lives, and no more. Waste was unknown even in the midst of plenty. They respected the right to live and survive of all other species of life. They never dreamed that any human being could claim to own the Mother Earth.

Today the re-birth of the Native nations is taking place and the new tender shoots are striving for light, hungry for knowledge as they struggle to grow. A . I . M is looked upon as the new warrior shoots. The final labor contractions of the birth was witnessed at Alcatraz, at the Trail of Broken Treaties, and finally at Wounded Knee. The present quiet period is merely a time of rest and introspection for it was a long and painful labor with much opposition to obstruct its birth. As the new shoots grow into tall trees again, new ideologies will bloom as the consciousness of the young develops and expands. The injured roots of the mighty trees of the old will heal, those roots which are also buried deep in the hearts of every Native people. The minds of the different nations are continuing to come together in unity, their differences diminish. Let us hope that this unity will grow with the young into one strong nation. So that the Native people can once more more take their rightful place in this land and world.

This is the time for all larger sympathetic movements here and abroad, to help those new young shoots to grow, help them to remain free. Help to stop the present persecutions and incarcerations of many of our new young shoots. The A.I.M. warriors are being hunted down, imprisoned, and often times sadistically tortured and in some extreme cases killed. Help them, especially, for if they are destroyed we too must die.

JANET McCLOUD

Racism: An American Ideology

NO RIVER OF THOUGHT IS MORE POWERFULLY PERVASIVE IN THE WEST THAN RACISM. IT IS MUCH MORE THAN RACE OR GENES' THIS ARTICLE LOOKS TO EXPLORE ITS DEPTH AND BREADTH---HOW IT BECAME THE JUSTIFICATION FOR COLONIALISM.

The "discovery" of the Western Hemisphere by European Nations seeking avenues of trade sparked a truly revolutionary series of events. One of the initial results was the rise of racism, an ideology which has formed the foundation for modern colonialism and the ruthless exploitation of the Natural World in the names of Progress and Civilization. The processes of exploitation and genocide, with their concurrent ideologies of racism and progressivism, are not simply historical happenings from the distant past. Those processes are alive and well in the Western Hemisphere today, and form the paradigm for all relationships between Native peoples and the Western World.

Racism is an ideology which had its origins, theoretically, in the somewhat shaky premise that some people, (specifically civilized peoples) were/are biologically superior to other, less civilized peoples. The introduction of an ideology based on biology is a peculiarly modern phenomenon, traceable to the period following the European penetration of the Americas. There had been many instances of cultural antagonism, and caste systems were widely practiced in the Ancient world. But nothing was developed which approached the systematic genocide and destruction of whole peoples which followed the development of racism.

So pervasive is that ideology today, so widely are its basic premises simply accepted in the Western World, that the ideology is rarely recognized as an ideology. Its basic premises are restated and reinforced daily in the newspapers of the Western World. Colleges and universities rarely offer courses on the subject. And yet, as an ideology, it has more followers than any religion. Racism is the most powerful river of thought in the West. It is an ideology whose opponents are treated as heretics, persecuted, tortured, and murdered. Racism, and the political ideology which it gives sanction, Colonialism, are the two most powerful movements of the Modern World.

THE ORIGINS OF RACIST THOUGHT

Christopher Columbus was a Genovese merchant-adventurer, sailing under the Spanish flag in search of a shorter passage to the markets of the Orient, specifically Japan. Like many who would follow him, he saw his mission as something of a religious quest. Other European explorers had landed on the shores of the Americas, but generally in the Northern hemisphere in areas where the climate was too hostile, for other than a short stay. Columbus' voyage was different in several respects from earlier voyages. Navigation technology, although crude, was sufficiently evolved to permit repeat voyages, and Columbus landed in the Caribbean, an area which offered pleasant weather and friendly native inhabitants.

Even his name was prophetic to the world he encountered – Christopher Columbus translates to "Christ-bearer Colonizer." During the early contacts he noted that the island people, though "primitive," seemed to be healthy and happy. His log indicated that they might be a good source of slaves, and he kidnapped and took some of the people back to Spain.

Columbus' announcement of the discovery of new lands across the Atlantic set into motion literally hundreds of expeditions in the decades following 1492. Soon, Spanish ships bearing men of arms became a common sight in the Caribbean areas, and Spanish Conquistadores rapidly penetrated remote areas of Central and South America seeking potential riches, establishing the fuedal *encomienda*, and preading the "word of God" among the Native oples.

The Spanish Conquest is probably the goriest and most brutal chapter in all of Western history, although it is a chapter which is arguably not yet finished. It is probable that millions of Native people were killed as Spanish armies entered the land. The streets of Mexico were described as flowing rivers of blood. The Spanish were so cruel, that the Native people did not believe that they were even human – such beasts, they thought, must be spawned from the sea.

The Carib people, among the most Primitive in Central America, were also among the first victims of the Conquest. History records that Spanish armies entered their villages, armed and carrying a written proclamation. In the village square, a cleric then read to the Native people a demand, often in Latin, that all the people come forth and present themselves and all their world possessions to the tribute and service of the King of Spain. Those failing to do so within a period of about ten minutes were to be put to the sword. The reading of the proclamation provided sufficient rationalization in the form of a "fair and just" warning to justify the slaughter of men, women and children which customarily followed. In that way, many areas were almost or totally depopulated.

The butchery and treachery of that process stirred the conscience, apparently, of even some of the Spanish. One Bartoleme de Las Casas, a cleric, began writing treatices denouncing the cruelty of the Spanish toward the Native people. His essays were published in European countries (such as England and France) which were already antagonistic to Spain, and had the apparent effect of exerting some pressure on the Spanish Crown to try to absolve the national image. The Crown decided that the question of the treatment of the Native peoples should be the subject of a kind of administrative investigation which took form in a sort of trial which came to be known as the Validolid Debates, argued before the Council of the Indies.

Because of his work defending the Indians, Las Casas came to be called the "Patron Saint of the Indians." Las Casas was something of an early humanitarian. By 1540, he had spent most of his life among Indians, and had seen their accomplishments, especially in Mexico. But he was not a man without ulterior motives. A priest, he would argue that the Indians were human beings who possessed reason and souls, that this identified them as of a higher order than simple beasts of burden, and that they could and should be brought under the reign of the Church.
Much of Las Casas' defense of Indians centered on the argument that critics of Indians who said they were incapable of becoming civilized were simply wrong, that the Indians had, in fact, developed civilizations which were admirable. He did not take the position that Natural World people are true human beings, that they have a right to life and their way of life, or that Natural World people have any rights at all.

The Conquistadores, who naturally opposed the meddling of the Church in their relationships with their slaves, found an advocate in Gines de Sepulveda, a scholar who had studied at the University of Salamanca. Sepulveda is identified as the "Father of Modern Racism." In 1540, he was considered one of the most knowledgeable of Spanish authorities on the teachings of Aristotle. (At the time, feudal Europe recognized two basic sources of knowledge – Aristotle and the Bible.) Sepulveda had never been to America, and it is probable that he never even saw an Indian, but he was amply capable of giving expression to the most widely held idologies of the Western World. He is one of the most underestimated figures in the history of Western thought.

Sepulveda argued that the Native people were not really human beings at all. As proof, he cited the fact that such people were totally unlettered, lacking in the civilized arts. They do not, he said, have the "true religion", and are not intellectually capable of a true understanding of that religion. He went on to state that the Native populations are, in reality, "brutes," that they are subhuman, incapable of the refinements of civilization. He pointed to the fact that they could speak neither Spanish or Latin, that their customs were strange, that they possessed not even the rudimentary arts of animal domestication.

His argument deepened when he turned to Aristotle as an authority. Aristotle had developed a theory of universal existence which postulated that the universe contains in some degree or other all that is possible to exist. There is pure light, and pure darkness, and somewhere there exists every possible degree of illumination in between.

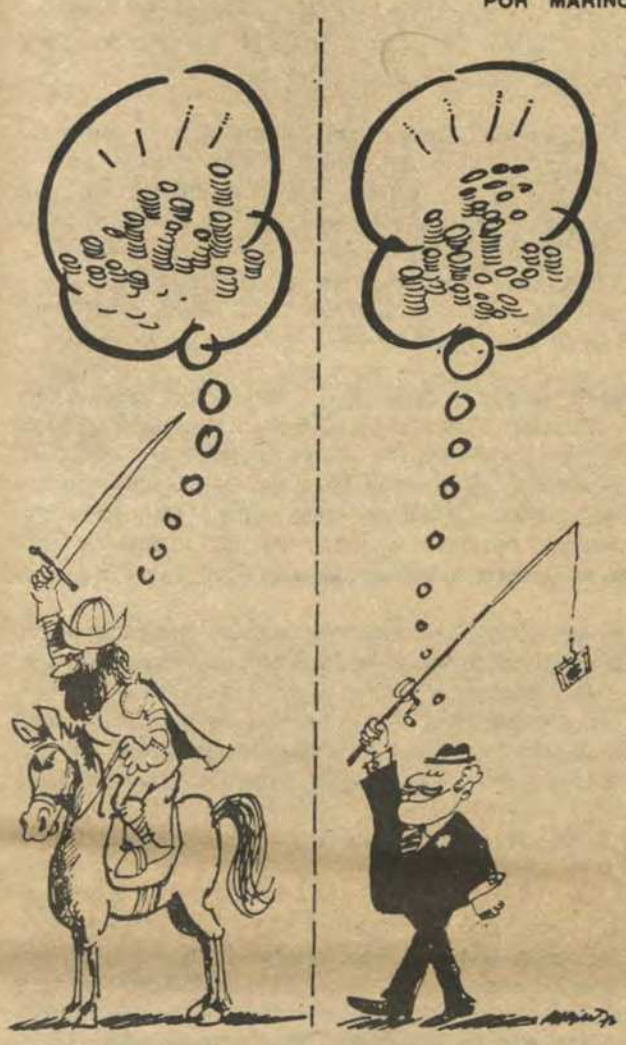
That line of thinking gave rise to thoughts about the nature of Man. Since there exist in the world, on the one hand, brutes (described as animals without intelligence or apparent purpose, a distinctly European definition of animals,) and on the other hand, civilized, refined, Rational Man, must not there also exist in the universe gradations of Man on a vertical scale, ranging from Civilized Man at the top, to Brutish Man at the bottom?

Aristotle's philosophy may have originated from a quite different purpose, but Sepulveda siezed on it as proof of the inhumanity or at least subhumanity of the American Indian race. At last, said Sepulveda, we have found the Brutish Man in Aristotle's teachings. Are not the Indians merely animals in human form? Lacking in religion and culture as they are, are they not merely Aristotle's Man-brutes, inferior beings *born* to serve their natural masters, the Christian Spanish? Indeed, is not their inferiority a plan of Nature? Of god?

As evidence, he cited the widely-held opinions of the Spanish. Are not the Indians dirty? Do they not worship idols and strange gods? He gave something that looked like academic substance to the generally accepted attitudes of the Spanish of his day. He placed the prejudices of the Spanish into the arena of a biological and theoretical argument based on the Plan of Nature, an argument which is still being waged. The Indians, by appearance, are dark. There never was a handsome Indian. They are not intelligent. They are sub-human. Their only purpose in the universe is to the service of civilized man. In their turn, the other European nations would reach the same kinds of conclusions relative to the non-European peoples of the world. Sepulveda is significant because he was one of the first to express the thoughts, he expressed them clearly, and he left a record for all to see.

Conquistadores

POR MARINO



Sepulveda went on to say that the Indians are found in such a miserable state of material and spiritual existence that it is the right, nay the obligation, of the Spanish to bring them the light and benefits of civilization. So powerful is this need, so vile their Primitive existence, that civilized man has a duty to take whatever measures necessary to eradicate these conditions of darkness. Indeed, even death is a blessed escape to these miserable creatures, an escape from their lives of service to deviltry.

Enslavement was justified, under these arguments, because it accompanied the blessings of civilization. True, the Indians were forced to relinquish their lands, their cultures, their worldly goods, even their lives. But did not the survivers receive in return the knowledge of the wheel and the donkey? Were they not given the blessings of the true religion? Surely the Indians received the best of the trade. Even those who were killed had been rightly treated, for they had been released from service to the Devil. The Spanish, in their kindness, were purifying the Indian with fire and sword, whip and chain. And in return, justly, the Spanish received the Indians' land, their labor, their worldly possessions. Under this argument, the Indian sacrifices seemed like a fair exchange. In the long run, the Indians would be "better off," their situation "improved."

Las Casas replied with the left-hand version of the same argument. He agreed, basically, that the Indians must be brought to the proper religion and to the service of the King of Spain. His major difference with Sepulveda was that he believed that this could and morally should be brought about through persuasion and not by the use of force. Las Casas can best be described as a kind of early liberal racist. He believed in generally the same ends as Sepulveda, but he argued for different means.

Las Casas stated that the Indian people were in fact intelligent people who were capable of receiving the true religion. He pointed to the fact that Indian families have admirable relationships with their children, that prior to the conquest the Indians of Mexico even had colleges and universities. He argued that many had been successfully instructed in the religion and arts of civilization.

He believed that the Indians could be brought to civilization and Christianity through fair treatment and good example. Once they accepted the true religion, he argued, it would be an easy step to bring them willingly to the service of the Crown. He argued, above all, that the Indians were humans, that they possessed souls, and that they belonged under the dominion of the Chruch. Under Christianity the Indians would be "better off," their situation "improved."

The two elements of these social ideologies focused on methods of achieving the same ends. Sepulveda, the conservative, argued that force was an acceptible, in fact, necessary means. Las Casas favored persuasion. History was to prove that cultural and physical genocide were achieved under both processes.

THE ESSENTIAL CONFLICT

It is no accident that racism has such powerful cultural ingredients as surfaced in the Validolid Debates. In fact, the long history of racism has indicated that the basic ideology will stand even when the biological premises have been largely removed or at least relegated to new terms. Genocidal policies need not be based on Biological ideologies – they can be blatantly pragmatic. In the 20th Century, it is sufficient to state that the needs of civilization or progress "for the national good" provides justification for the taking of a peoples' resources (land, minerals, water) without ever mentioning that those people are of a separate race. Cultural genocide has become a regrettable but necessary evil, a simple consequence of Progress.

The "Discovery" of the Americas brought Western Civilization into contact and conflict with the Natural World peoples all over the globe. The true nature of the conflict which resulted can be seen through an analysis of Western culture.

The West is a true civilization. It is a culture which organizes its societies into population centers which are not materially self-sufficient. Cities are population concentrations which depend on outside sources for their existence. They must import their food, fuel, materials, even laborers, from other places. This requires, basically, the subjugation and extraction from the Natural World of food, fuel, water, power, all the things civilizations need in order to survive.

It seems not only logical but actually necessary that Western Civilization would develop racist ideologies. Racism basically rationalizes and justifies the subjugation necessary to facilitate the extraction of materials and labor from the Natural World. The actual implementation of that process has become known, variously, as Colonialism and Imperialism.

THE COLONIAL IMPERATIVE

Modern Paraguay and Brazil provide excellent examples that racism and genocide in their crudest forms still exist in the 1970s. In Paraguay, the hunting and killing of Indians is not considered murder because Indians are not truly considered to be human beings. In Brazil, the destruction of native peoples is for all practical purposes a national policy rationalized in the name of development and Progress.

The people of the Natural World continue to be under the most devastating attack by civilized peoplees.

Natural World peoples are systematically hunted and killed virtually everywhere they still exist, but especially in regions which contain natural resources. Those who survive the initial period of "Just Warfare" are often removed to new locations, sometimes called reservations. Sometimes they are allowed to remain in their ancestral homelands. But always they are denied their rights to the land. Aboriginal titles to land are not recognized, or are only partly recognized, because Natural World peoples are not considered legally human and their nations are not considered to be legal nations in the legal systems of the West. Racism is rampant in the legal systems of imperialist countries, especially in the areas of the denial of the existence of traditional or Natural World forms of government and land titles.

Civilized countries demand that colonized peoples be "domesticated" in the same sense that chattel are domesticated. Policies are implemented which are intended to specialize their behavior in the interests of their colonizers. Natural World people are almost never left alone to live within the definitions of their own culture. They are specialized, ("educated" is the common usage,) trained to the needs of civilization, forced into roles which make them a part of the extractive process which sends labor and materials to the cities of their oppressors.

The process of colonization is so widely practiced that it has become almost invisible in the 20th Century. "Civilizing the Indian" has become the standard carried by the modern liberal racist. It is argued on the premise that through "civilization" the Indian will be "better off." Civilization is "for the Indians' own good," even if it kills him.

Modern colonialism requires that the Native people participate in their own exploitation. In North America, practically all vestiges of Native freedom, in the form of Native government and economy, have been forcible eradicated. In place of the traditional or Natural World forms of government and society, are Native administrators of colonial policies, people who have been "educated," trained in the skills of the oppression of their own people. There are few places which are exceptions to this rule. Most recognized Native governments in the United States and Canada are not Native governments at all. They are, instead, modern colonial governments with racial Indian (but culturally Western) administrators whose function is to carry out genocidal policies. Racism and Colonialism are twins in the process of genocide. And both are alive and well in the Western Hemisphere.

– Kahonhes

As this newspaper goes to press, the Hau de no sau nee, or Six Nations, delegates will be returning from Geneva, Switzerland, where they gave a series of presentations to the non-governmental organizations of the United Nations. The Hau de no sau nee were asked by the NGOs for three position papers and documentation of the oppression suffered by the Native peoples, focusing on the problems of the Hau de no sau nee. The three papers were to concern the areas of Social, Cultural and Religious oppression, economic oppression, and legal oppression. Other Native peoples were also asked to submit papers on these subjects.

Native nations rarely present position papers on the subject of oppression. We feel it is possible that these position papers could easily be largely overlooked by much of the press, and that the positions of Native political organizations are important documents. AKWESASNE NOTES received advance copies of the position papers of the Hau de no sau nee, and these are presented here in the form of the following three articles.

The editors.

GENEVA * *

The Hau de no sau nee, or the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, has existed on this land since the beginning of human memory. Our culture is among the most ancient continuously existing cultures in the world. We still remember the earliest doings of human beings, we remember the original instructions of the Creators of Life on this place we call Etenoha — Mother Earth. We are the spiritual guardians of this place. We are the Ongwhehonwhe — the Real People.

In the beginning, we were told that the human beings who walk about on the Earth have been provided with all the things necessary for life. We were instructed to carry a love for one another, and to show a great respect for all the beings of this Earth. We are shown that our life exists with the tree life, that our well-being depends on the well-being of the Vegetable Life, that we are close relatives of the four-legged beings. In our ways, spiritual consciousness is the highest form of politics.

Ours is a Way of Life. We believe that all living things are spiritual beings. Spirits can be expressed as energy forms manifested in matter. A blade of grass is an energy form manifested in matter — grass matter. The spirit of the grass is that unseen force which produces the species of grass, and it is manifest to us in the form of real grass.

All things of the world are real, material things. The Creation is a true, material phenomenon, and the Creation manifests itself to us through reality. The spiritual universe, then, is manifest to Man as the Creation, the Creation which supports life. We believe that man is real, a part of the Creation, and that his duty is to support Life in conjunction with the other beings. That is why we call outselves Ongwhehonwhe — Real People.

The original instructions direct that we who walk about on the Earth are to express a great respect, an affection, and a gratitude toward all the spirits which create and support Life. We give a greetings and thanksgiving to the many supporters of our own lives — the corn, beans, squash, the winds, the sun. When people cease to respect and express gratitude for these many things, then all life will be destroyed, and human life on this planet will come to an end.

Our roots are deep in the lands where we live. We have a great love for our country, for our birth place is there. The soil is rich from the bones of thousands of our generations. Each of us were created in those lands, and it is our duty to take great care of them, because from these lands will spring the future generations of the Ongwhehonwhe. We walk about with a great respect for the Earth is a very sacred place.

THE HAU DE NO SAU NEE MESSAGE TO THE WESTERN WORLD

We are not a people who demand, or ask anything of the Creators of Life, but instead, we give greetings and thanksgiving that all the forces of Life are still at work. We deeply understand our relationship to all living things. To this day, the territories we still hold are filled with trees, animals, and the other gifts of the Creation. In these places we still receive our nourishment from our Mother Earth.

We have seen that not all people of the Earth show the same kind of respect for this world and its beings. The Indo-European people who have colonized our lands have shown very little respect for the things that create and support Life. We believe that these people ceased their respect for the world a long time ago. many thousands of years ago, all the people of the world believed in the same Way of Life, that of harmony with the universe. All lived according to the Natural Ways.

Around ten thousand years ago, peoples who spoke Indo-European languages lived in the area which today we know as the Steppes of Russia. At that time, they were a Natural World people who lived off the land. They had developed agriculture, and it is said that they had begun the practice of animal domestication. It is not known that they were the first people in the world to practice animal domestication. The hunters and gatherers who roamed the area probably acquired animals from the agricultural people, and adopted an economy, based on the herding and breeding of animals.

Herding and breeding of animals signalled a basic alteration in the relationship of humans to other life forms. It set into motion one of the true revolutions in human history. Until herding, humans depended on Nature for the reproductive powers of the animal world. With the advent of herding, humans assumed the functions which had for all time been the functions of the spirits of the animals. Sometime after this happened, history records the first appearance of the social organization known as "patriarchy."

THE TECHNOLOGIES AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS WHICH HAVE DESTROYED THE ANIMAL AND THE PLANT LIFE ARE ALSO DESTROYING THE NATIVE PEOPLE' AND THAT PROCESS IS WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

The area between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers was the homeland, in ancient times, of various peoples, many of whom spoke Semetic languages. The Semetic people were among the first in the world to develop irrigation technology. This development led to the early development of towns, and eventually cities. The manipulation of the waters, another form of spirit life, represented another way in which humans developed a technology which reproduced a function of Nature.

Within these cultures, stratified hierarchal social organization crystallized. The ancient civilizations developed imperialism, partly because of the very nature of cities. Cities are obviously population concentrations. Most importantly though, they are places which must import the material needs of this concentration from the countryside. This means that the Natural World must be subjugated, extracted from, and exploited in the interest of the city. To give order to this process, the Semetic world developed early codes of law. They also developed the idea of monotheism to serve as a spiritual model for their material and political organization.

Much of the history of the ancient world recounts the struggles between the Indo-Europeans and the Semetic peoples. Over a period of several millenia, the two cultures clashed and blended. By the second millenia B.C., some Indo-Europeans, most specifically the Greeks, had adopted the practice of building cities, thus becoming involved in the process which they named "Civilization."

Both cultures developed technologies peculiar to civilizations. The Semetic people invented kilns which enabled the creation of pottery for trade, and storage of surplusses. These early kilns eventually evolved into ovens which could generate enough heat to smelt metals, notably copper, tin and bronze. The Indo-Europeans, developed a way of smelting iron.

Rome fell heir to these two cultures, and became the place where the final meshing occurs. Rome is also the true birthplace of Christianity. The process that has become the culture of the West is historically and linguistically a Semetic/Indo-European culture, but has been commonly termed the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Christianity was an absolutely essential element in the early development of this kind of technology. Christianity advocated only one God. It was a religion which imposed itself exclusively of all other beliefs. The local people of the European forests were a people who believed in the spirits of the forests, waters, hills and the land; Christianity attacked those beliefs, and effectively de-spiritualized the European world. The Christian peoples, who possessed superior weaponry and a need for expansion, were able to militarily subjugate the tribal peoples of Europe.

THE TRADITIONAL NATIVE PEOPLES HOLD THE KEY TO THE REVERSAL OF THE PROCESSES IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION WHICH HOLD THE PROMISE OF UNIMAGINABLE FUTURE DESTRUCTION.

The availability of iron tools led to the development of tools which could cut down the forest, the source of charcoal to make more tools. The newly cleared land was then turned by the newly developed iron plow, which was, for the first time, pulled by horses. With that technology many fewer people would work much more land, and many other people were effectively displaced to become, soldiers and landless peasants. The rise of that technology ushered in the Feudal Age and made possible, eventually, the rise of new cities and growing trade. It also spelled the beginning of the end of the European forest, although that process took a long time to complete.

The eventual rise of cities and the concurrent rise of the European state created the thrust of expansion and search for markets which led men, such as Columbus, to set sail across the Atlantic. The development of sailing vessels and navigation technologies made the European "discovery" of the Americas inevitable.

EVERY DAY OF OUR LIVES FINDS US DEFENDING OURSELVES FROM SOME FORM OF INTRUSION BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK OR THE UNITED STATES OR CANADIAN GOVERNMENTS.

...THOUSANDS OF YEARS AGO. ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD BELIEVED IN THE SAME WAY OF LIFE. THAT OF HARMONY WITH THE UNIVERSE.

The Americas provided Europeans a vast new area for expansion and material exploitation. Initially, the Americas provided new materials and even finished materials for the developing world economy which was based on Indo-European technologies. European civilization has a history of rising and falling as its technologies reach their material and cultural limits. The finite Natural world has always provided a kind of built-in contradiction to Western expansion.

The Indo-Europeans attacked every aspect of North America with unparallelled zeal. The Native people were ruthlessly destroyed and dispossessed because they were an unassimilable element to the civilizations of the West. The forests provided materials fo larger ships, the land was fresh and fertile for agricultural surpluses, and some areas provided sources of slave labor for the conquering invaders. By the time of the Industrial Revolution in the mid-Nineteenth Century, North America was already a leader in the area of the development of extractive technology.

FORESTS WERE DESTROYED TO CREATE CHARCOAL FOR THE FORGES OF THE IRON SMELTERS AND BLACKSMITHS.

The other position papers of the Hau de no sau nee have outlined our analysis of economic and legal oppression. But our essential message to the world is a basic call to consciousness. The destruction of the Native cultures and people is the same process which has destroyed and is destroying life on this planet. The technologies and social systems which has destroyed the animal and the plant life is also destroying the Native people. And that process is Western Civilization.

We know that there are many people in the world who can quickly grasp the intent of our message. But experience has taught us that there are few who are willing to seek out a method for moving toward any real change. But if there is to be a future for all beings on this planet, we must begin to seek the avenues of change.

We feel that the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere can continue to contribute to the survival potential of the human species. The majority of our peoples still live in accordance with the traditions which find their roots in the Mother Earth. But the Native peoples have need of a forum in which our voice can be heard. And we need alliances with the other peoples of the world to assist in our struggle to regain and maintain our ancestral lands and to protect the Way of Life we follow.

We know that this is a very difficult task. Many nation states may feel threatened by the position that the protection and liberation of Natural World peoples and cultures represents a progressive direction which must be integrated into the political strategies of people who seek to uphold the dignity of Man. But that position is growing in strength, and it represents a necessary strategy in the evolution of progressive thought.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS THE LIBERATION OF ALL THE THINGS THAT SUPPORT LIFE – THE AIR, THE WATERS, THE TREES – ALL THE THINGS WHICH SUPPORT THE SACRED WEB OF LIFE.

WITH THE ADVENT OF HERDING, HUMANS ASSUMED FUNCTIONS WHICH HAD FOR ALL TIME BEEN THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SPIRITS OF THE ANIMALS.

The hardwood forests of the Northeast were not cleared for the purpose of providing farmlands. Those forests were destroyed to create charcoal for the forges of the iron smelters and blacksmiths. By the 1890s, the West had turned to coal, a fossil fuel, to provide the energy necessary for the many new forms of machinery which had been developed. During the first half of the Twentieth Century, oil had replaced coal as a source of energy.

The Western culture has been horribly exploitative and destructive of the Natural World. Over 140 species of birds and animals were utterly destroyed since the European arrival in the Americas, largely because they were unutilizable in the eyes of the invaders. The forests were levelled, the waters polluted, the Native people subjected to genocide. The vast herds of herbivores were reduced to mere handfuls, the bufalo nearly became extinct. Western technology and the people who have employed it have been the most amazingly destructive forces in all of human history. No natural disaster has ever destroyed as much. Not even the Ice Ages counted as many victims.

But like the hardwood forests, the fossil fuels are also finite resources. As the second half of the Twentieth century has progressed, the people of the West have begun looking to other forms of energy to motivate their technology. Their eyes have settled on atomic energy, a form of energy production which has biproducts which are the most poisonous substances ever known to Man.

Today the species of Man is facing a question of the very survival of the species. The way of life known as Western Civilization is on a death path on which their own culture has no viable answers. When faced with the reality of their own distructiveness, they can only go forward into areas of more efficient destruction. The appearance of Plutonium on this planet is the clearest of signals that our species is in trouble. It is a signal which most Westerners have chosen to ignore.

The air is foul, the waters poisoned, the trees dying, the animals are disappearing. We think even the systems of weather are changing. Our ancient teaching warned us that if Man interfered with the Natural laws, these things would come to be. When the last of the Natural Way of life is gone, all hope for human survival will be gone with it. And our Way of Life is fast disappearing, a victim of the destructive processes.

WHEN THE LAST OF THE NATURAL WAY OF LIFE IS GONE, ALL HOPE FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL WILL BE GONE WITH IT.

The processes of colonialism and imperialism which have affected the Hau de no sau nee are but a microcosm of the processes affecting the world. The system of reservations employed against our people is a microcosm of the system of exploitation used against the whole world. Since the time of Marco Polo, the West has been refining a process that mystified the peoples of the Earth.

The majority of the world does not find its roots in Western culture or traditions. The majority of the world finds its roots in the Natural World, and it is the Natural World, and the traditions of the Natural World, which must prevail if we are to develop truly free and egalitarian societies.

It is necessary, at this time, that we begin a process of critical analysis of the West's historical processes, to seek out the actual nature of the roots of the exploitative and oppressive conditions which are forced upon humanity. At the same time, as we gain an understanding of those processes, we must reinterpret that history to the people of the world. It is the people of the West, ultimately, who are the most oppressed and exploited. They are burdened by the weight of centuries of racism, sexism, and ignorance which has rendered their people insensitive to the true nature of their lives.

We must all consciously and continuously challenge every model, every program, and every process that the West tries to force upon us. Paulo Friere wrote, in his book, the PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED, that it is the nature of the oppressed to imitate the oppressor, and by those actions try to gain relief from the oppressive condition. We must learn to resist that response to oppression.

The people who are living on this planet need to break with the narrow concept of human liberation, and begin to see liberation as something which needs to be extended to the whole of the Natural World. What is needed is the liberation of all the things that support Life – the air, the waters, the trees – all the things which support the sacred web of Life.

The traditional Native peoples hold the key to the reversal of the processes in Western Civilization which hold the promise of unimaginable future suffering and destruction. Spiritualism is the highest form of political consciousness. And we, the Native Peoples of the Western Hemisphere, are among the world's surviving proprietors of that kind of consciousness. We are here to impart that message.

...WE SUFFER HORRIBLE LEGAL INJUSTICES WHICH HAVE TERRIBLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR PEOPLE.....WE ARE SEEKING OUR RIGHTS IN THOSE AREAS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE NATIVE PEOPLE WERE RUTHLESSL DESTROYED AND DISPOSSESSED BECAUS THEY WERE AN UNASSIMIBLE ELEMEN TO THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE WEST.

LEGAL HISTORY OF THE HAU DE NO SAU NEE

Since the beginning of human time, the Hau de no sau nee have occupied the distinct territories that we call our homelands. That occupation has been both organized and continuous. We have long defined the borders of our country, have long maintained the exclusive use-right of the areas within those borders, and have used those territories as the economic and cultural definitions of our nation.

The Hau de no sau nee are a distinct people, with our own laws and customs, territories, political organiation and economy. In short, the Hau de no sau nee, or Six Nations, fits in every way every definition of nationhood

Ours is one of the most complex social/political structures still functioning in the world. The Hau de no sau nee council is also one of the most ancient continuously functioning governments anywhere on this planet. Our society is one of the most complex anywhere. From our social and political institutions has come inspiration for some of the most vital institutions and political philosophies of the modern world.

The Hau de no sau nee is governed by a constitution known among Europeans as the Constitution of the Six Nations and to the Hau de no sau nee as the Gayanashakgoway, or the Great Law of Peace. It is the oldest functioning document in the world which has contained a recognition of the freedoms the Western democracies recently claim as their own: the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and the rights of women to participate in government. The concept of separation of powers in government and of checks and balances of power within governments are traceable to our consitiution. They are ideas learned by the colonists as the result of contact with North American Native people, specifically the Hau de no sau nee.

The philosophies of the Socialist World, too, are to some extent traceable to European contact with the Hau de no sau nee. Lewis Henry Morgan noted the economic structure of the Hau de no sau nee, which he termed both primitive and communistic. Karl Marx used Morgan's observations for the development of a model for classless, post-capitalist society. The modern world has been greatly influenced by the fact of our existence.

It may seem strange, at this time, that we are here, asserting the obvious fact of our continuing existence. For countless centuries, the fact of our existence was unquestioned, and for all honest human beings, it remains unquestioned today. We have existed since time immemorial. We have always conducted our own affairs from our territories, under our own laws and customs. We have never, under those laws and customs, willingly or fairly surrendered either our territories or our freedoms. Never, in the history of the Hau de no sau nee, have the People or the government sworn allegiance to a European sovereign. In that simple fact lies the roots of our oppression as a people, and the purpose of our journey here, before the world community.

The problems incurred in the recent "legal history" of the Hau de no sau nee began long before European contact with Native people. It began, at least, with the rise of a system called feudalism in Europe, for the only law which the colonizing countries of Europe ever recognized was feudal law, a fact which they have obscured from their own people as well as from Native people for many centuries. That fact, however, remains the essential reality of the legal relationships which exist between Native peoples and Indo-European societies.

Feudal society in Europe appears to have arisen as the result of a number of conditions which existed following the dissolution of the Roman Empire. It was based on a system by which rulers of warrior castes became strong enough to demand and extract fealty from warriors. There arose, generally, an administrative center, usually a castle, and around these were agricultural people who were usually protected from outside aggression by their "lord," the sovereign of the manor. It appears likely that new technologies arose which created economies which made the feudal society both possible and perhaps even inevitable in Europe.

The feudal lord often held dictatorial power over his "subjects," especially the peasants. Military protection was necessary because of the continuous state of "feuding" among the various lords. The "peaceful people," or peasants, were caught in the middle. The land, and everything on it, including the animals, plants, and people, was under the domination or dominion of the feudal "lord. This lord demanded loyalty and a part of the peasants' crops as well as some of his/her labor. Feudalism could be far more brutal and humiliating than is outlined in many histories. Some feudal lords exercised what was called "the right of the first night," a custom which referred to the right of a lord to a peasant's bride.

Prior to the rise of feudalism, it is fair to state that most of the agricultural people of Europe were local tribesmen of various kinds. Feudalism imposed the concept of sovereign, dictatorial rulers whose rule was imposed by military might, and gave rise to the true European peasantry.

The crystallization of centralized executive power serves to separate civilized societies from primitive societies. It is immaterial whether such controls are located in a feudal castle or in the executive offices of the capitals of nation states. The appearance of the hierarchical state marks the transition of food cultivators in general to the more specific definition contained in the concepts of peasantry. When the cultivator becomes dependent upon and integrated in a society in which he is subject to demands of people who are defined by a class other than his own, he becomes appropriately termed a peasant.

The state of a midieval European peasant was not a pleasant one. Peasants have no rights, save those granted by their lord. They cannot own the land as a people. Only the Sovereign owns or possesses sovereignty. Peasants were often treated as chattel. They were bought, sold, and inherited with the land. They were a people who had been dispossessed of their freedom. At some points in history, the tribal people of Europe became peasants through a combination of forces, the most direct being military pressure.

A peasant is not a member of a true community of people. His society is incomplete without the town or city. It is trade with the town or city, an economic relationship, which defines the early stages of peasantry. As trade becomes more necessary, for whatever reasons, the tribesman becomes increasingly less of a tribesman and more of a peasant. The process is neither immediate nor is it necessarily absolute, but to the degree that the tribesman becomes dependent, he becomes less of a tribesman.

To a great extent, the process by which people lost their freedom in Europe was economic in nature. The midieval castles were military forts and functioned as kinds of storehouses, but they also developed into trade centers and eventually towns. In the early stages of feudalism, the agricultural worker "traded" his freedom for security from military aggression. But increasingly, over the centuries, a primary function of the midieval town became that of the marketplace.

"It is the market, in one form or another, that pulls out from the compact social relations of self-contained primitive communities some parts of men's doings and puts people into fields of economic activity that are increasingly independent of the rest of what goes on in the local life. The local traditional and moral world and the wider and more impersonal world of the market are in principle distinct, [and opposed to each other..."

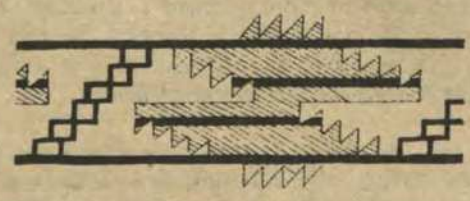
The European "discovery" of North America led to the transposition of European midieval law and customs to the Americas. To be sure, Spanish midieval law differed in some respects from that of France, and both differed in some respects from that of England, but an understanding of Midieval Europe is essential to an analysis of European- Hau de no sau nee legal history and also to any analysis of the process of colonialism. Midieval Europe is the perio of the rise of growing centralization and consolidation of power by the ruling kinships (kings) over vast territories which is specific to the North American experience. It is also the period of the rise and growth of European cities as centers of trade and sources of political power. The European laws of nations, as they were applied to the Americas, were midieval laws.

"Europeans used a great variety of means to attain mastery, of which armed combat was only one. Five principles were available to a European sovereignty for laying claim to legitimate jurisdiction over an American territory and its people: papal donation, first discovery, sustained possession, voluntary self-subjugation by the natives, and armed conquest successfully maintained. The colony was the means of translating a formal claim to the effective actuality of government, and it was "colonial" in both senses of that ambiguous word. The huddled villages of Europeans were colonies in the sense of being offshoots or reproductions of their parent societies, and these villages exerted power over larger native populations in the sense more clearly implied by the word colonialism."

The European invaders, from the first, attempted to claim Indians as thier subjects. Where the Indian people resisted, as in the case of the Hau de nosau nee, the Europeans rationalized that resistance to be an incapacity for civilization. The incapacity for civilization rationale became the basis for the phenomenon in the West which is known today as racism.

The Europeans landed on the shores of the Americas and immediately claimed the territories for their sovereigns. They then attempted, especially in the case of France and Spain, to make peasants of the Indians. The English, who had already experimented with the enclosure system and who thus colonized North America with landless peasants whichwere driven by a desperation rooted in their own history, at first simply drove the Indians off the land by force.

The European legal systems had, and apparently have developed, no machinery to recognize the rights of peoples, other than dictators or sovereigns, to land. When the Europeans came to North America, they attempted to simply make vassals of the Native leaders. When that failed, they resorted to other means. The essential thrust of European powers has been an attempt to convert "...the Indian person from membership in an unassimable caste to membership in a social class integrated into Euro-American institutions."



The dispossession of the Native people was accomplished by the Europeans in the bloodiest and most brutal chapter of human history. They were acts committed, seemingly, by a people without conscience or standards of behavior. To this day, the United States and Canada deny the existence of the lawful governments of the Hau de no sau nee and other Native nations, a continuation of the policy of genocide which has marked the process known as colonialism. In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, both governments and the governments of Latin America deny the commission of genocide, either physical or cultural.

Their reasoning is patently medieval and racist: "...Civilization is that quality possessed by people with civil governments, civil government is Europe's kind of government; Indians did not have Europe's kind of government, therefore Indians were not civilized. Uncivilized people live in wild anarchy; therefore Indians did not have government at all. And THEREFORE Europeans could not have been doing anything wrong – were in fact performing a noble mission – by bringing government and civilization to the poor savages." Today, as in midieval times, the Indo-European government follows a might makes right policy.

Colonialism is a process often misunderstood and misinterpreted. It is a policy which has long survived the medieval period in which it was born. Many Western institutions are in fact colonial institutions of Western culture. The churches, for example, operate in virtually the same manner as the feudal lords. First, they identify a people whose loyalty they wish to secure in an expansionist effort. Then they charter a group to conduct a "mission." If that group is successful, they become, in effect, the spiritual sovereigns or dictators of those whose loyalty they command. That process in organized Christianity may actually be more ancient than the process of political colonialism described here.

Modern multi-national corporations operate in much the same way. They identify a market or an area which has the resources they want. Then they obtain a charter, or some form of sanction, from a Western government and they sent what amounts to a colonizing force into the area. If they successfully penetrate the area. that area becomes a sort of economic colony of the multi-national. The greatest resistance to that form of penetration has been mounted by local nationalists.

In North America, educational institutions operate under the same colonial process. Schools are chartered by a sovereign (such as the state, or the Bureau of Indian Affairs,) to penetrate the Native community. The purpose in doing so is to integrate the Native people into society as workers and consumers, the Industrial Society's version of peasants. The sovereign recognizes, and practically allows, no other form of socializing institution for the young. As in the days of the medieval castel, the sovereign demands absolute fealty. Under this peculiar legal system, the Western sovereign denies the existence of those whose allegiance he cannot obtain. Some become, by this rationale, illegitimate.

This concept of illegitimacy is than interpreted into official government policy. In the United States, the colonizer has created two categories of Native peoples: Federally recognized and non-Federally recognized. In more recent years, the government has taken to a policy of non-recognition of an entity entitled "Urban Indians." In Canada there exist four legal definitions of Native people. They are divided into Status, Non-status, Metis, and Enfranchised. Both countries carry on the policy of consistently refering to "Indians and Eskimos," as though Eskimos were separate and not a Native people of the WesternHemisphere.

The United States and Canada practice blatant colonialism in the areas affecting political institutions of the Native peoples. In 1924, Canada's new Indian Act established the legal sanction for the imposition of neo-colonial "elective system" governments within the Native peoples' territories. In the United States, the same goal was accomplished with passage of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA.) Both pieces of legislation provided compulsive chartered political colonies among Native people. These "elective systems" owe their existence and fealty to the United States and Canada, and not to the Native peoples. They are, by definition, colonies which create classes of political peasants. They are governments only to the degree an external social caste allows them to be governments.They are, in most places in Native peoples' territories, the only forms of government recognized by the colonizers.

The Hau de no sau nee have also been subjected to the many forms of colonialism of the Western governments. Our first contact with a Western people came in 1609 when a French Military expedition under Samuel de Champlain murdered some Mohawk people along the lake which now bears his name. Later, when the Dutch came, the first treaty (or agreement) which we made with a European power was the Two Row Treaty in which we clarified our position – that we are a distinct, free and sovereign people. The Dutch accepted that agreement.

But the European nations have never honored the agreement. Many times, France attempted to dominate the Hau de no sau nee through conquest. England often used every means possible, including coersion, threats and military force, to extend her sovereignty over us. Each time we resisted.

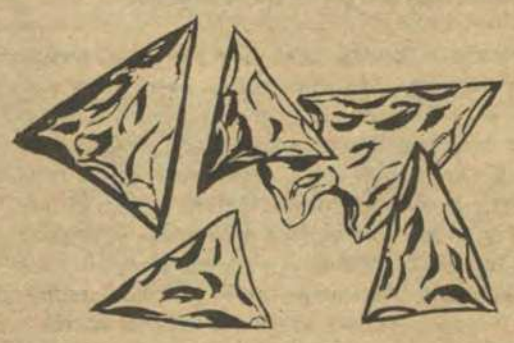
The United States entered into solemn treaties with the Hau de no sau nee, and each time has ignored virtually each and every provision of the treaties which guarantee our rights as a separate nation. Only the sections d the treaties which refer to land sessions, sections which often were fraudulently obtained, have validity in the eyes of the United States courts or governments.

The mechanism for the colonization of the Hau de no sau nee territory is found, in legal fiction, in the United States Constitution. That document purports to give Congress power to "regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with Indian tribes." Contrary to every principle of international law, Congress has expanded that section to an assertion of "plenary" power, a doctrine which asserts absolute authority over our territories. This assertion has been repeatedly urged upon our people, although we have never agreed to that relationship, and we have never been conquered in warfare. The Hau de no sau nee are vassals to no people – we are a free nation, and we have never surrendered our rights as a free people.

From the beginning of its existence, the United States has conducted a reign of terror in the Hau de no sau nee territory. Colonial agents entered our country between 1784 and 1842 and returned to Washington with treaties for cessions of land fraudulently obtained with persons not authorized to make land transfers. The hau de no sau nee council, which is the only legitimate body authorized to conduct land transactions, never signed any agreements surrendering the territories.

The United States occupied the lands under threats of war, although there were no acts which justified war measures. When the Hau de no sau nee gathered evidence to prove that the treaties were fraudulent and therefore illegal under any interpretation of law, the United States courts countered by inventing the Political Question Doctrine. This doctrine basically asserts that Congress cannot commit fraud and that the courts cannot question Congress' political judgment, although United States courts find congressional acts in other areas of law to be unconstitutional regularly.

Because the Hau de no sau nee refused to sell the land, the United States simply refused to recognize our government. Instead, they recognized those colonized individuals who would agree to sell the land and whose loyalties lie with Washington. In 1848, the United States simply recognized an "elective system" on the Seneca Nation lands, creating a colonial government on the largest of our remaining territories in what is called by the colonizers "New York State."



There followed a long list of moves by the United States to exterminate the Hau de no sau nee. There were treaties which entirely dispossessed, for all practical purposes, the Cayuga and Oneida nations in their ancestral lands. There were treaties, such as the Treaty of 1797, which recognized the sale by individuals of the territory of the Kanienkehaka, an area of nine million acres of land exchanged for the sum of one thousand dollars. There were attempts from 1821 to 1842 to remove the Hau de no sau nee from the territories called by the colonists New York to other areas now called Wisconsin and Kansas. These efforts resulted in the displacement of some of our people to those areas. In 1851, there was an attempt to evict the Seneca people from their lands at Tonawanda.

In 1886, there was an attempt to divide the Hau de no sau nee lands into severalty under the Dawes Act, an attempt which was not entirely successful. In 1924, the United States passed a Citizenship Act which attempted to give United States citizenship to all Native people. The Hau de no sau nee strongly rejected the concept that we could ever be United States citizens. We are Hau de no sau nee citizens. But the feudal laws of the colonizers have been relentless.

Also in 1924, Canada militarily invaded our territories on the Grand River and forcibly installed a colonial government there. The episode was repeated by Canada in 1934 on our territories at the Thames River comminity of Oneida.

In 1948 and 1950, Congress passed laws giving civil and criminal jurisdiction to New York State, although Congress was never given such jurisdiction by the Hau de no sau nee. In 1958, Congress passed Public Law 88-533, the Kinzua Dam Act, which resulted in the flooding of almost all of the inhabitable lands of the Seneca at Allegany, and virtually destroyed the Native communities and culture there. That act also provided for the termination of the Seneca Nation, a process which would have ended even the colonial government there, and which would have moved the denial of our existence a little closer to reality.

In addition to these legal kinds of colonization, the Hau de no sau nee have been subjected to every other kind of colonization imaginable. Churches, school systems, and every form of Western penetration have made political, economic, and cultural peasants of some of our populations. The continuing denial of our political existence has been accomplished by an almost overwhelming psychological, economic and spiritual attack by the colonial institutions of the West.

For over 300 years, our people have been under a virtual state of siege. During this entire time we have never once given up our struggle. Our strategies have, of necessity, changed. But the will and determination to continue on remains the same. Throughout these years, European historians have recorded the position of the Hau de no sau nee.

During the 1920s, one of our leaders, a man named Deskaheh, came to this city to seek help for his people. At that time, the international body which existed did not truly represent the world community. Many cultures and nations were not recognized. Now, fifty years later, we have returned, and our message remains the same.

Our elders have watched the rebirth of this international institution. In 1949, a delegation of the Hau de no sau nee attended the foundation ceremony for the United Nations building in New York City. In 1974, our people journeyed to Sweden to take part in an international conference on the Environment and Ecology. All through these times we have taken notice of the changes which have occurred within this institution.

Now we find ourselves in Geneva, Switzerland, once again. For those of us present, and the many at home, we have assumed the duty of carrying on our peoples' struggle. Invested in the names we carry today are the lives of thousands of generations of both the past and the future. On their behalf, also, we ask that the Non-Governmental Organizations join us in our struggle to obtain our full rights and protection under the rules of international law and in the World Community.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE HAU DE NAU SAU NEE

The Hau de no sau nee, People of the Longhouse, who are known to many Europeans as the Six Nations Iroquois, have inhabited their territories since time immemorial. During the time prior to the coming of the Europeans, it is said that ours were a happy and prosperous people. Ourlands provided abundantly for our needs. Our people lived long, healthy, and productive lives. Before the Europeans came, we were an affluent people, rich in the gifts of our country. We were a strong people in both our minds and bodies. Throughout most of that time, we lived in peace.

Prior to the arrival of the colonists, we were a people who lived by hunting and gathering, and practiced a form of agriculture which was not labor intensive. The economy of the people was an extremely healthful Way of Life, and our peoples were very healthy – among the finest athletes in the world. There were some, in those times, who lived to be 120 years and more, and our runners were unexcelled for speed and endurance.

Among our people we refer to our culture as "Ongwe Honwekah." This refers to a Way of Life that is peculiar to the Hau de no sau nee. It is virtually impossible for us to recount, specifically, the history of "Hau de no sau nee economy." As will become evident, our economy, that way in which our people managed their resources, and the relationship of that management to the total organization of our society, are processes completely bound together. The distribution of goods, in our traditional society, was accomplished through institutions which are not readily identified as economic institutions by other societies. The Hau de no sau nee do not have specific economic institutions, nor do we have specifically distinct political institutions. Rather, what European people identify as institutions of one classification or another serve many different purposes among the Hau de no sau nee.

Creator. All things in this world belong to the Creator and the spirits of the world. We also believe that we are required to honor these beings, in respect of the gift of Life.

In accordance with our ways, we are required to hold many kinds of feasts and ceremonies which can best be described as "give-aways." It is said that among our people, our leaders, those whom the Anglo people insist on calling "chiefs," are the poorest of us. By the laws of our culture, our leaders are both political and spiritual leaders. They are leaders of many ceremonies which require the distribution of great wealth. As spiritual/political leaders, they provide a kind of economic conduit. To become a political leader, a person is required to be a spiritual leader, and to become a spiritual leader a person must be extraordinarily generous in terms of material goods.

Our leaders, in fact, are leaders of categories of large extended families. Those large extended families function as economic units in a Way of life which has as its base the Domestic Mode of Production. Before the colonists came, we had our own means of production and distribution adequate to meet all the peoples' needs. We would have been unable to exist as nations were it not so.

Our basic economic unit is the family. The means of distribution, aside from simple trade, consists of a kind of spiritual tradition manifested in the functions of the religious/civic leaders in a highly complex religious, governmental, and social structure.

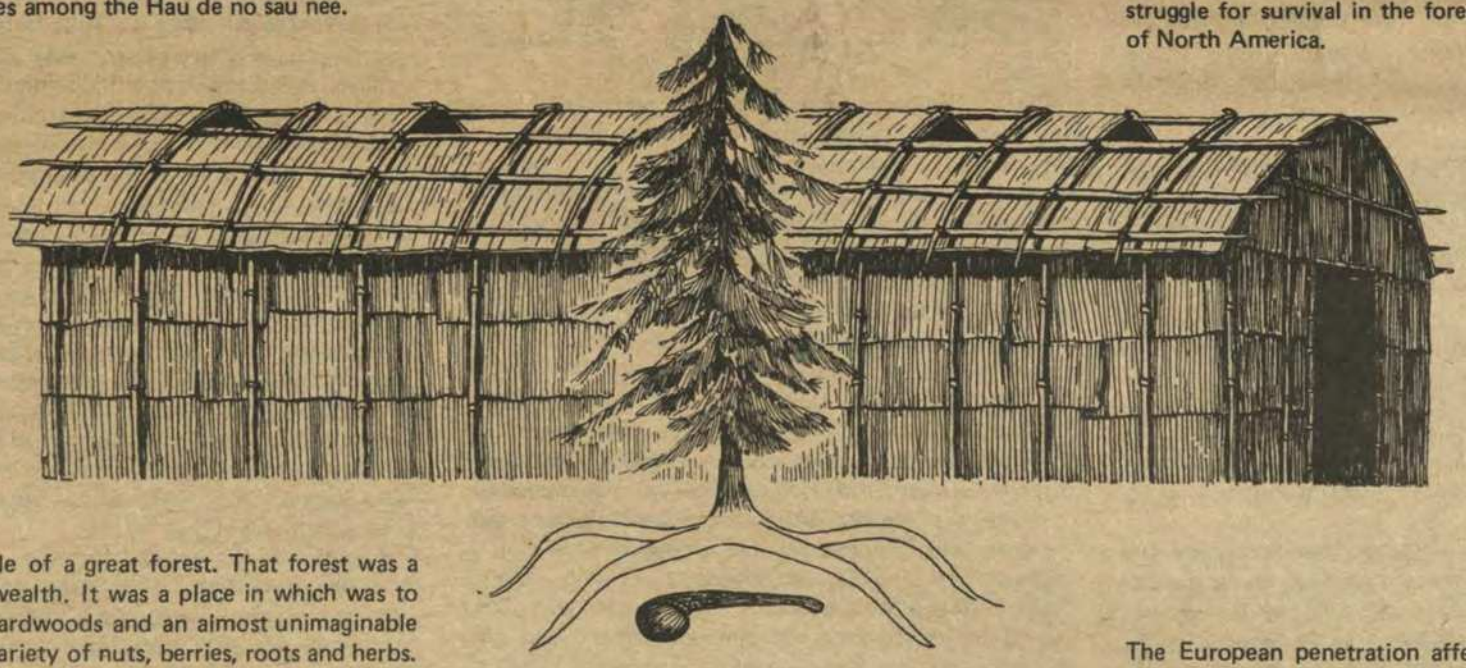
Our Domestic Mode of Production has a number of definitions which are culturally specific. Our peoples' economy requires a community of people and is not intended to define an economy based on the self-sufficient nuclear family. Some modern economists estimate that in most parts of the world, the isolated nuclear family cannot produce enough to survive in a Domestic Mode of Production. In any case, that particular mode of subsistence, by our cultural definition, is not an economy at all.

Ours was a wealthy society. No one suffered from want. All had the right to food, clothing, and shelter. All shared in the bounty of the spiritual ceremonies and the Natural World. No one stood in any material relationship of power over anyone else. No one could deny anyone access to the things they needed. All in all, before the colonists came, ours was a beautiful and rewarding Way of Life.

The colonists arrived with many institutions and strategies designed to destroy the Way of Life of the People of the Longhouse. In 1609, Samuel de Champlain led a French military expedition that attacked a party of Mohawk people on the lake now named "Lake Champlain." Champlain arrived in search of wealth and was specifically interested in generating some kind of trade in beaver pelts with the Algonquin people of the area. He demonstrated his firearms to them, letting them see, for the first time, the power of guns.

Champlain, accompanied by his newly-found business partners, marched into the center of Mohawk territory. This war party encountered a party of about 200 Mohawks. The first volley of gunfire killed three men, and the second created such confusion that the Mohawks retreated, leaving twelve men who were taken captive.

The period of warfare which followed this incident has come to be known as the "Beaver Wars." The introduction of trade in beaver pelts inevitably triggered a long series of colonial wars. It represented the escalation of disputes among neighbors to a full-scale struggle for survival in the forests of the Native people of North America.



We were a people of a great forest. That forest was a source of great wealth. It was a place in which was to be found huge hardwoods and an almost unimaginable abundance and variety of nuts, berries, roots and herbs. In addition to these, the rivers teemed with fish and the forest and its meadows abounded with game. It was, in fact, a kind of Utopia, a place where no one went hungry, a place where the people were happy and healthy.

Our traditions were such that we were careful not to allow our populations to rise to numbers that would overtax the other forms of life. We practiced strict forms of conservation. Our culture is based on a principle that directs us to constantly think about the welfare of seven generations into the future. Our belief in this principle acts as a restraint to the development of practices which could cause suffering in the future. To this end, our people took only as many animals as were needed to meet our needs. Not until the arrival of the colonists did the wholesale slaughter of animals occur.

We feel that many people will be confused when we say that ours is a Way of Life, and that our economy cannot be separated from the many aspects of our culture. Our economy is unlike that of Western peoples. We believe that all things in the world were created by what the English language forces us to call "Spiritual Beings," including one that we call the Great

The Hau de no sau nee have no concept of private property. This concept would be a contradiction to a people who believe that the Earth belongs to the Creator. Property is an idea by which people can be excluded from having access to lands, or other means of producing a livelihood. That idea would destroy our culture, which requires that every individual live in service to the Spiritual Ways and the People. That idea would produce slavery. The acceptance of the idea of property would produce leaders whose functions would favor excluding people from access to property, and they would cease to perform their functions as leaders of our societies and distributors of goods.

Before the colonists came, we had no consciousness about a concept of commodities. Everything, even the things we make, belong to the Creators of Life and are to be returned ceremonially, and in reality, to the owners. Our people live a simple life, one unencumbered by the need of endless material commodities. The fact that their needs are few means that all the peoples' needs are easily met. It is also true that our means of distribution is an emminently fair process, one in which all of the people share in all the material wealth all of the time.

The European penetration affected every facet of the Native Way of Life from the very moment of contact. The natural economies, cultures, politics, and military affairs became totally altered. Nations learned that to be without firearms meant physical annihilation. To be without access to beaver pelts meant no means to buy firearms.

The trade in beaver pelts, and the now necessary weaponry, introduced factors never before encountered by the Native people. Trade meant that long routes, over which goods were to be transported, had to be secured. The only way that was possible, was for the entire area to be in friendly hands. Any potential disruptor of the trade routes must either be pacified or eliminated.

With the introduction of firearms, war became a deadly business. It was made more deadly because the European strategy of economic penetration was to stimulate warfare among the Native nations over which would have the goods for trade. Out of necessity, to protect themselves from annihilation, the People of the Longhouse entered the beaver trade. The pelts were used to buy more firearms and goods that made it possible for more men to trap more beaver more efficiently. The marketplaces of France, Holland, and England were eager for the "New World" merchandise.

Shortly after the encounter on Lake Champlain, the Hau de no sau nee began trading with Holland, which had established posts along the Hudson River. A large part of the trade involved firearms. French historians recount that the People of the Longhouse were very skillful at the strategies of battle, and within a short time, the Algonquin people were defeated. Their defeat was aided by the fact that the French had not taken seriously their pledges of aid to the Algonquin.

So intense became the need for European goods, especially firearms, that by 1640, the beaver were becoming scarce in the Hau de no sau nee territories. Pressure from the newly created European frontiers was steadily increasing. Warfare was also common between the various colonizers. The Hau de no sau nee were well aware of what was occurring to the East. The Dutch, shortly after their arrival, began a series of genocidal wars that ended in the utter annhilation of the Native peoples of the Lower Hudson River Valley. In New England, the Pequot Nation was nearly obliterated by the Puritan and English colonists there.

Knowledge of these massacres greatly influenced Hau de no sau nee defense policy. To the East were the Dutch and English, whose presence was necessary as a source of firearms. Yet, they represented a constant potential of movement of their frontiers westward into the Longhouse. To the North was the colony of France, which was supplying arms to the Western Native nations. France also threatened to gain a monopoly over the beaver trade which was increasingly centered to the North and West of Lakes Erie and Ontario.

France made repeated attempts to send missionaries, especially Jesuits, among the nations of the Hau de no sau nee. These missions were the major tool of propaganda for the European nations. Missionaries then, as today, are expected to carry more than the message of Christianity. They serve as lay ambassadors of their culture, splitting off individuals from families, families from villages, villages from nations, one by one. Some priests even served as the leaders of troops going into battle.

The missionaries made persistent attacks on the economic structures of the People of the Longhouse. They specifically attacked the spiritual ceremonies as "pagan," and thereby sought to end the practice of give-aways and public feasts. In addition, they sought to break the power of the clans by causing division which would split people into nuclear households.

European churches, especially in colonial practice, take on their feudal roles as economic institutions. Among natural world people, they are the most dangerous agents of destruction. They invariably seek to destroy the spiritual/economic bonds of the people to the forests, land and animals. They spread both ideologies and technologies which make people slaves to the extractive system which defines colonialism.

In 1704, the first Anglican missionaries were sent, by England, to the Mohawks living along the Mohawk River. In 1710, a delegation of Mohawk chiefs received an invitation to visit England. They returned bearing four bibles, a prayer book and a communion plate for the Anglican chapel, gifts from Queen Anne. But the missionaries also brought behind them a long, long tail. To house themselves they needed a mission, to protect the mission they needed a fort, and to propagate the faith, they needed a school. Missionaries spread more than the word of God. The British Empire was fast entering the Hau de no sau nee territories, and there was more to come.

The warlike European kingdoms were constantly fighting among themselves. There were three wars during the 18th Century just between France and England. Queen Anne's War (1701 to 1713,) King George's War (1744 to 1748,) and the "French and Indian War," known to the European world as the "War of the Spanish Succession," (1754 to 1763.) It is clear from the records of the time that the People of the Longhouse remained neutral throughout these conflicts. Although individuals on the road to assimilation, such as the Anglicized Mohawks who had been coerced into roles as British peasants, could be counted on to aid the colonizers.

If France was unsuccessful in her attempts at military penetration of the territory of the Longhouse, England was far more successful in her social and religious colonization of the Eastern part of our territories. William Johnson was an Irish immigrant who became famous for his influence over certain Mohawks. As an agent of the British Crown, he maintained an embassy as an operational base close to the Mohawk country. He took several Native women as concubines and had several children by them, none of which he ever recognized as his heirs. His position was known as "British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department." He is widely credited by European historians as a successful manipulator of events and developments on the frontier during his tenure. In today's context, Johnson would be working as an ambassador to a Third World country, executing simultaneously diplomatic, military, intelligence, and foreign aid operations.

During his tenure he engineered the establishment of a beachhead from which immigrants could move Westward to broaden the colony. Mohawk lands along the Susquehanna and Mohawk Rivers were increasingly encroached upon by British settlers, including Johnson himself. By the Spring of 1765, the carefully managed Longhouse environment was in trouble as ignorant and destructive peasant settlers almost eradicated the deer herds.

There was so much trouble with the peasant settlers that the Mohawks, who had so generously allowed them to share their lands, were actually considering moving Westward into the Oneida territories to gain some peace. By the Spring of 1765, many Mohawks had already been displaced and were living as refugees among the other nations.

William Johnson was a master public relations man for the King. He would, on the one hand, apologize for the behavior of the frontiersmen and urge the Mohawks to be patient, and on the other hand encourage more settlers to move into the Mohawk lands. He would make a great show of protecting Hau de no sau nee interests, and in that way encourage the People of the Longhouse to seek a resolution at the bargaining table where they invariably ended up trading land to gain a temporary peace.

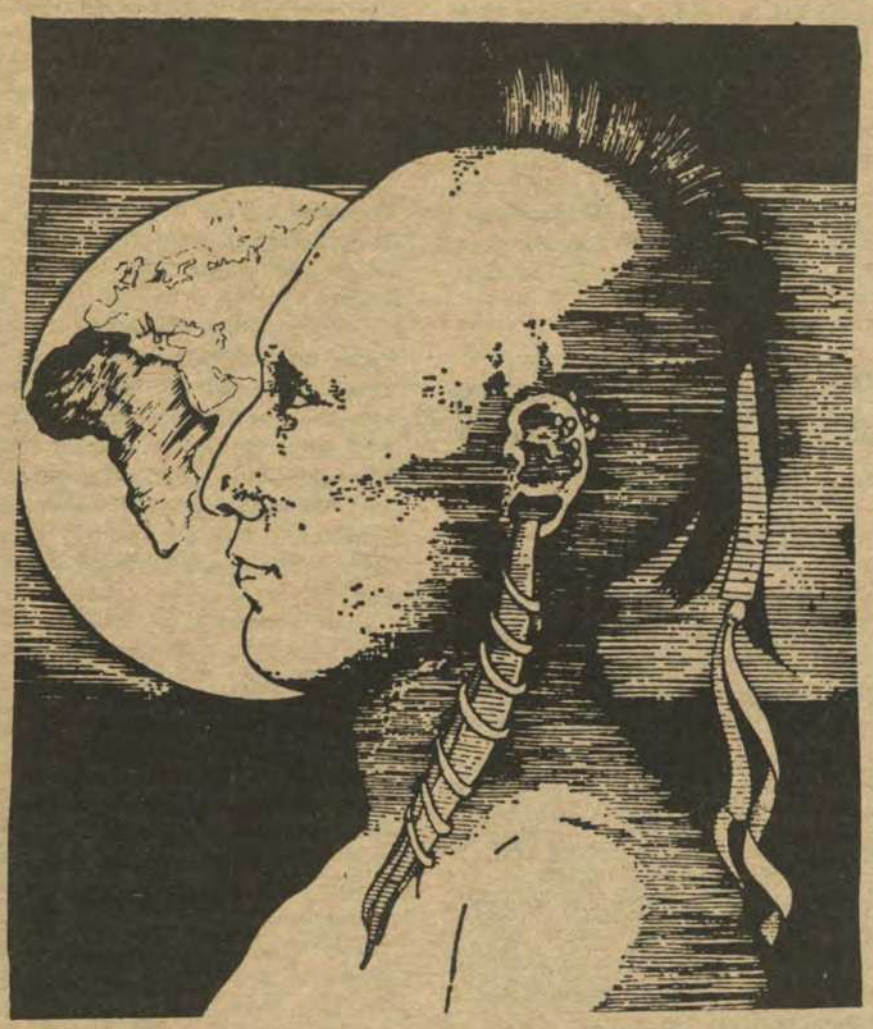
Throughout this period many other Native peoples had been moving into our territories to gain some respite from the colonial onslaught. Far to the South, in the colonized area known as the Carolinas, the Tuscarora were faced with emminent destruction. In their drive to gain more land and economic advantage, English colonizers there were using the same techniques which were being employed in the Northeast. In 1713, the dispossessed Tuscaroras withdrew from their homelands and sought protection in the territories of the Hau de no sau nee. They were not the only people who were displaced. Delawares, Tuteloes, Shawnees and others fled to the Hau de no sau nee lands seeking peace.

Peace, however, was not to be. At the approach of the American revolution, the Hau de no sau nee did everything possible to remain neutral. With the decline of France, and the increasing decline in the importance of trade, the settler bourgeoisie of the Anglo colonies cast an increasingly envious eye on the lands of the Longhouse. Still our military power was formidable, and our resolve was to remain neutral.

The policy of England, however, was to involve the Hau de no sau nee in the war. To accomplish this goal, they resorted to bribery, trickery, false propaganda, and emotional appeal. The Hau de no sau nee continued its policy of neutrality throughout. Both the colonists and the "Loyalists" entered our territories in search of mercenaries. The loyalist strategy was the more successful. They were able to draw some of our people into a battle with the revolting colonists.

The Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war, made no provision, at least in writing, for the Native nations, which the British Crown had solemnly promised to protect. Thus the representatives of the People of the Longhouse held an international treaty meeting with the new federation called the United States of America, in September of 1784. The U.S. demanded huge cessions of territory, especially from the Senecas. The warriors who had been delegated to the meeting eventually signed the treaty. However, they had not been authorized to commit the Hau de no sau nee without consulting them. For a time, the terms of the treaty were not known, as the U.S. would not provide the Hau de no sau nee with a copy of the document. As many Native people know, to their regrets, signing a treaty and the ratification of a treaty are two separate acts, each necessary before a treaty becomes valid. Although the U.S. Congress ratified the treaty, the legislative council of the Hau de no sau nee met at Buffalo Creek and renounced the agreement.

Somehow the United States takes the position that the Hau de no sau nee ceased to exist by the year 1784, although the Longhouse has continued to this day. There is ample evidence that all the nations continued to participate in the matters of the Great Council, the legislative body of the Confederacy. None of the nations of the league has ever declared themselves separate from the Confederation. The Oneidas, whose reputed allegiance to the United States was based on the existence of Oneida mercenaries, continued to send their delegates to the council, and the Tuscarora remain firmly attached to the League. The Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas and Mohawks continue to hold their positions within the League. Although the Hau de no sau nee have been severely disrupted by the Westward expansion of the United States, the subsequent surrounding of their lands, and the attempts to devour its people, the Six Nations Confederacy continues to function. Indeed, today its strength continues to be increasing.



By pretending that the Hau de no sau nee government no longer exists, both the U.S. and Britain illegally took Hau de no sau nee territories by simply saying the territories belong to them. To this day, Canada, the former colony of England, has never made a treaty for the lands in the St. Lawrence River Valley. But the truth continues to remain and plague officials yet today. The Hau de no sau nee territories are not and have never been part of the U.S. or Canada. The citizens of the Hau de no sau nee are a separate people, distinct from either Canada or the United States. Because of this, the Hau de no sau nee refuses to recognize a border drawn by a foreign people through our lands.

The policy of the dispossession of North American Native peoples, first by the European kingdoms, and later by the settler regimes, began with the first contact. Dispossession took a number of approaches: the so-called "just warfare" was a strategy by which Native nations were deemed to have offended the Crown and their elimination by fire and sword was justified. That was followed by the Treaty Period in which Native nations were "induced" to sell their lands and move westward. The Treaty Period was in full swing at the beginning of the 19th Century. By 1815, the governor of New York was agitating for the removal of all Native people from the state for "their own good."

While the infamous Trail of Tears was removing Native peoples from the Southeast to Oklahoma, New York State was lobbying for a treaty in 1838 which was intended to remove the Hau de no sau nee, who were on lands that the state wanted, away to an area of Kansas. The principal victims were to be the Senecas. (See the Treaty of 1838.)

Like the Termination Policy a century later, the Removal Policy was eventually abandoned due in part to the bad press received during the Cherokee Removal in 1832. During the process of the Cherokee removal, thousands of Cherokee men, women, children and elders were subjected to conditions which caused them to die of exposure, starvation, and neglect.

In 1871, the U.S. Congress passed an Act which included a clause that treaties would no longer be made with "Indian Nations." It was at this time that official United States policy toward Native people began to shift to a new strategy. Reports to Congress began to urge that the Native people be assimilated into U.S. society as quickly as possible. The policy of fire and sword simply began to become less popular among an increasingly significant percentage of the United States population. The principle hinderance to the assimilation of the Native people, according to its most vocal adherants, was the Indian land base. The Native land base was held in common and this was perceived as an uncivilized and unAmerican practice. The assimilationists urged that, if every Indian family owned its own farmstead, they could more readily acquire "civilized" traits. Thus the Dawes Act of 1886 ordered the Native nations stripped of their land base, resulting in the transfer of millions of acres to European hands.

There was consistent pressure in the New York Legislature to "civilize" the Hau de no sau nee. To accomplish this, all vestiges of Hau de no sau nee nationality needed to be destroyed. This is the 19th Century origin of the policy to "educate" the Indian to be culturally European. It was thought that when the Indian was successfully Europeanized, he would no longer be distinct and separate, and that there would no longer be an indigenous people with their own customs and economy. At that point the Indian could be simply declared to have assimilated into the United States or Canadian society. The net effect would dispense with the entire concept of Native nations, and that would extinguish the claims of those nations to their lands. The report of the Whipple Committee to the New York Legislature in 1888 was clear: "Exterminate the Tribe."

In 1924, the Canadian government "abolished" the Hau de no sau nee government at the Grand River territory. The Oneida and Akwesasne territories were invaded and occupied by Canadian troops in order to establish neo-colonial "elective systems" in the name of democracy. Also in 1924, the United States government passed legislation declaring all American Indians to be United States citizens. The 1924 Citizenship Act was an attempt to deny the existence of Native nations, and the rights of these Native nations to their lands. The denial of the existence of Native nations is a way of legitimating the colonists' claims to the lands. This concept is furthered by the imposition of non-Native forms of government. This also serves to fulfil the colonizer's need to destroy any semblance of sovereignty. The actual process for taking the lands can be accomplished when the Native nation no longer exists in its original context – when it is less of a nation.

With all semblence of a Native nation's original context destroyed, Canada and the United States can rationalize that integration has occurred. With this rationale in hand, both governments have set out to enact their final solutions to the "Indian Problem."

The Hau de no sau nee vigorously objected to the Citizenship Act, and maintains to this day that the People of the Longhouse are not citizens of Canada or the United States, but are citizens of their own nations of the League.

The Termination Acts of the 1950s were efforts to simply declare that the Native nations no longer exist and to appropriate their lands. The acts were so disastrous that they caused something of a national scandal. "St. Regis," the European name for Akwesasne, was one of our territories targeted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as "ready for integration."

The BIA based its recommendation on the fact that many Mohawks had acquired at least some of the material conditions which made their community outwardly indistinguishable from the white communities. In fact, however, Akwesasne was, and is, very different from the small towns in the area surrounding it.

Termination submerged as an official policy in the late 1960s. But Termination is simply a means to an end. The objective is the economic exploitation of a people and their lands. The taking of lands and the denial and destruction of Native nations are concrete and undeniable elements in the colonization process as it is applied to Native people surrounded by a settler state. Tools to accomplish this end include guns, diseases, revised histories, repressive missionaries, indoctrinating teachers, and these things are often cloaked in codes of law. In the Twentieth Century, the taking of the land and the destruction of the culture and Native economy werve to force Native people into rolls as industrial workers, just as in the 19th century the same processes forced Native people in the U.S. and Canada into rolls as landless peasants.

The Hau de no sau nee has, over a period of 375 years, met every definition of an oppressed nation. It has been subjected to raids of extermination from France, England, and the United States. Its people have been driven from their lands, impoverished, and persecuted for their Hau de no sau nee customs. It has been the victim of fraudulent dealings from three European governments which have openly expressed the goal of the extermination of the Hau de no sau nee. Our children have been taught to despise their ancestors, their culture, their language, their religion, and their traditional economy. Recently, it has been a government-sponsored fad to have bi-lingual/bi-cultural programs in the schools. These programs are not a sincere effort to revitalize the Hau de no sau nee, but exist as an integrationists' ploy to imply "acceptance" from the dominating culture.

Revisionist United States and British historians have cloaked the past in a veil of lies. The national and local governments of the Hau de no sau nee have been suppressed and usurped by the colonial authorities, and their neo-colonial Indian helpers, to carry out policies of repression in the name of "democracy." Generation after generation has seen the Hau de no sau nee land base, and therefore its economic base, shrink under the expansionist policies of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada.

The world is told by colonial government propaganda machines that the Hau de no sau nee are simply "victims of civilization and progress." The truth is that they are the victims of a conscious and persistent effort of distruction directed at them by the European governments and their heirs in North America. The Hau de no sau nee si not suffering a terminal illness of natural causes – it is being deliberately strangled to death by those who would benefit from its death.

Although treaties may often have been bad deals for the Native nations, the United States and Canada chose not to honor those which exist because to do so would require the return of much of the economic base and sovereignty to the Hau de no sau nee. The treaties contain the potential for independent survival of the Native people. The dishonoring of treaties is essential to the goal of U.S. and Canadian vested interests which are organized to remove any and all obstacles to their exploitation of the Earth and her peoples.
peoples.

AS THE WESTERNIZATION OF THE WORLD CONTINUES, ALL PEOPLES WILL BE FACED WITH SIMILAR STRESSES AND TURMOILS.

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY IS UNDER HEAVY ATTACK FROM MANY DIRECTIONS, AND ALL ELSE IS AN ECONOMY OF EXPLOITATION.

The European nations of the western hemisphere continue to wage war against the Hau de no sau nee. The weapons have changed somewhat — Indian Education programs and social workers, neo-colonial Indian officials and racist laws are used first. If these methods fail, the guns are still ready, as recent history at Akwesasne and South Dakota have shown.

The effect of all these policies has been the destruction of the culture and therefore the economy of the People of the Longhouse. The traditional economy has been largely replaced by the colonial economy which serves multinational corporate interests. The colonial economy is one that extracts labor and materials from the people of the Hau de no sau nee for the benefit of the coloniers. The Christian religions, the school systems, the neo-colonial elective systems, all work toward these goals.

We are an economically poor people today. Few of us can affort to support the spiritual ceremonies which form the foundations of our traditional economies. The money economy is not adaptable to the real economy of our people. Few of our peoples participate in the Domestic Mode of Production which defines the traditional economy. This is largely because the colonizer's education system, and also more systematic and brutal attempts at acculturation, have placed neo-colonial governments on our territories. On some of the Hau de no sau nee lands, the Canadian and United States government moneys employ one-third of all employable workers, creating an economic dependence among potential leadership of the Hau de no sau nee, and actively recruiting people away from the Domestic Mode of Production. The traditional economy is under heavy attack from many directions, and all else is an economy of exploitation. The political oppression, the social oppression, the economic oppression all have the same face. These are the tools of Genocide in North America.

...THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAVE RARELY BEEN TOLD THE COSTS IN TERMS OF PEOPLES' LIVES AND SUFFERING THAT THIS AFFLUENCE/HAS EXTRACTED FROM EACH OF US.

For the moment, there is more wealth, more goods and services, more automation than has ever existed in the history of mankind. The world is living in an age of manufactured affluence. But the people of the world have rarely been told the costs in terms of peoples' lives and suffering, that this affluence has extracted from each of us. Even the people in North America, who seemingly benefit from all these "advances" seem to be unaware of the destruction they are experiencing. The "Modern Age," and its consumer values, has altered, in very basic ways, the very structure of human society, and the basic conditions of the Natural World.

The modern family is an institution which is presently under a great deal of stress. The family in Western society has undergone great changes over the last century. As the Westernization of the world continues, all peoples will be faced with similar stresses and turmoils.

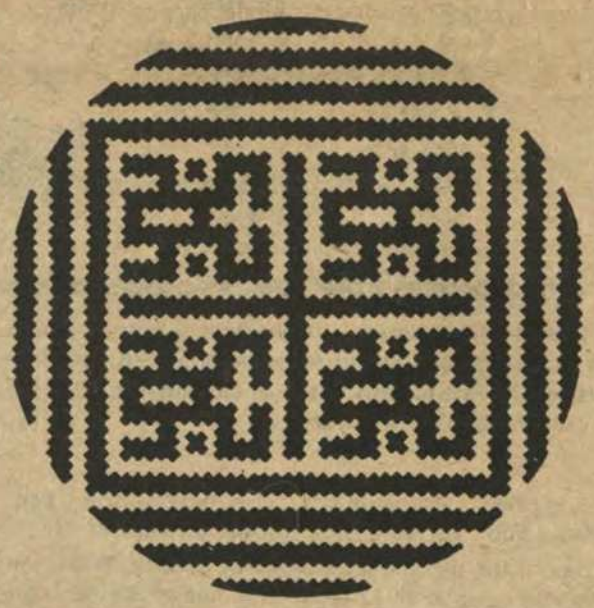
We, the Hau de no sau nee, have clear choices about the future. One of the choices which we have faced is whether to become Westernized, or to remain true to the Way of Life our forefathers developed for us. We have stated our understanding of the history of the changes that have created the present conditions. We have chosen to remain Hau de no sau nee, and within the context of our Way of Life, to set a course of liberation for ourselves and the future generations.

In our homelands, our people are still struggling and developing strategies for survival. In the Mohawk country, our people have reoccupied lands for the purpose of revitalizing our culture and economy. This settlement, known as Ganienkeh, has been successfully held for more than three years. The Oneida people have been waging a court battle for several years to regain 265,000 acres illegally taken in the 1700s. The Cayugas have also been engaged in an effort to regain 100,000 acres taken during the same period as the theft from the Oneidas. The Onondagas and Tuscaroras have been carrying on an unceasing battle to gain control of the education that their children receive. The Senecas have been forced into a long struggle to protect the last pieces of their land still under traditional government, the lands at the Tonawanda territory. Every day of our lives finds us defending ourselves from some form of intrusion by the State of New York or the United States or Canadian governments.

If we are to continue to survive, we need the help of the international community. We need external presence to bring some sort of stability to the situation of our people. We have learned, too frequently, that what is good law today can rapidly be changed into bad law. Both Canada and the United States have taught us that their legal systems are part of the political machinery which affects the oppression of our peoples.

We are nations by every definition of the term. We have been unable to obtain any semblance of justice in the court systems of the United States or Canada, and we suffer horrible legal injustices which have terrible economic and social consequences for our people. Many of our legal problems involve land and sovereignty over land, and land is the basis of our economy We are seeking our rights in those areas under International Law.

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY HAS BEEN LARGELY REPLACED BY THE COLONIAL ECONOMY WHICH SERVES MULTINATIONAL INTERESTS.



WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE EMPLOYED IT HAVE BEEN THE MOST AMAZINGLY DESTRUCTIVE FORCES IN ALL OF HUMAN HISTORY.

Genocide is alive and well in the territory of the Hau de no sau nee. Its technicians are in Washington, Ottawa, and Albany, and its agents control the schools, the churches, and the neo-colonial elective system offices found in our territories. This oppression of the Hau de no sau nee has taken its toll — but the Hau de no sau nee continues to meet in council, and its members are on the rise. The Hau de no sau nee, the People of the Longhouse, still have a long history ahead. We have developed strategies to resist the economic effects of the conditions we face. But, those strategies require that we revitalize our social and political institutions. This can only be accomplished on sufficient lands within the ancient boundaries of our territories.

We are living in a period of time in which we expect to see great changes in the economy of the colonizers. The imperial powers of the world appear to be facing successful resistance to expansion in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world. We will soon see the end of an economy based on the supply of cheap oil, natural gas, and other resources, and that will greatly change the face of the world.

WE ARE LIVING IN A PERIOD OF TIME IN WHICH WE EXPECT TO SEE GREAT CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY OF THE COLONIZERS.

Our liberation process is not one that is exclusive to us as Humans, but also includes the other life forms that coexist and are as oppressed as we. The liberation of the Natural World is a process which is being undertaken in a most difficult environment. The people surrounding us seem to be intent on destroying themselves and every living thing.

Throughout the past four hundred years, the Hau de no sau nee have exerted a great influence on the lives of millions of people. Theories about democracy and classless society have been developed from inadequate interpretations of the true nature of those ideals. This conference may be the time which begins a process which moves toward more real definitions of these concepts.

Lastly, we require economic assistance in the forms of economic aid and technical assistance. We are aware that there exist various international figures who have technical expertise and who are conscious of development in the context of specific cultures. Our case is appropriate to the deliberations of the United Nations Decolonization Committee. We are engaged in a struggle to decolonize our lands and our lives, but we cannot accomplish this goal alone and unaided.

For centuries we have known that each individual's action creates conditions and situations that affect the world. For centuries we have been careful to avoid any action unless it carried a long-range prospect of promoting harmony and peace in the world. In that context, with our brothers and sisters of the Western Hemisphere, we have journeyed here to discuss these important matters with the other members of the Family of Man.

GANIENKEH

A WHOLE OTHER WORLD JUST BEYOND THE GATE

I awoke to the sound of someone groping around in the dark. It was a small cabin, perhaps eighteen feet wide, and by most standards it was a modest dwelling, a wooden log cabin made of upright poles, perhaps twenty-eight feet or so long. I knew it was Krakwirakiron. He had said that he would be getting up early. I have a luminescent dial on my watch. It was 5:15. As he left the house, I heard a chicken crow about a hundred yards away. This was morning at Ganienkeh. At bedtime, I counted eight other people sleeping in the small house, but I noticed the children did not follow their father's early rising example. I went back to sleep.

But not for long. One of the girls, a girl of about 10 or 11, got up and began to make the fire. The baby, who is almost two, was up early too, but I counted myself the third to rise because the baby went back to bed. By the time I reached the kitchen, the fire was blazing away in the wood cooking stove and several pots were already in place.

"Do you need any help" I asked. "Can I get water or wood or anything" She thought about it for a second, then went over to a water pail and removed the cover. "You might get some water," she said. "The well is along the road, across the stream, near the house next to the stream." I took a water pail and headed out the door.

Ganienkeh is a very beautiful place, especially in the morning. There is, during the summer, a pale green hue to the camp. The buildings are nestled into a large hardwood grove. Trees dominate the scene everywhere. There are no lawns at Ganienkeh, and very little room between trees and the buildings. It is as though the cabins grew up as mushrooms, in the shade of the trees. In fact, the trees are much older than the cabins.

To the right, as you leave Krakwirakiron's house, is a very pretty lake and an island which actually has a house on it. Fog was rising from the lake. I passed other cabins on both sides, and some stumps of great trees along the path. The forest inside the camp is dense, and in the early morning, even after the light has begun to gather, the paths remain dark for a time. Trees had been cut, but the woods remained dense. Had there been no stumps, there would be no way of knowing that trees had ever been taken.

There was the sound of a couple of hens scrambling for some morsel of food, and the bark of a large goose which appeared from beneath an abandoned van. A couple of roosters were still crowing. Smoke was coming from some of the houses, and there was that pleasant odor of smoke from wood stoves. In the distance I could hear some men talking, and there seemed to be some activity in the direction of the cookhouse. Suddenly Krakwirakiron appeared, hurrying back to the house with the look of a man who had forgotten something. "Where are you going" he asked. "To the well."

"It's there," he said, pointing down the path. We parted, and in a moment I had found the well and filled the pail.

At the cabin, breakfast was well under way and the children were all awake. Krakirwakiron was gone, and I assumed he had eaten breakfast with the men at the community building. The house was filled with the pleasant odors of food cooking, and we breakfasted on oatmeal, bread and coffee. Afterwards, I decided to go up to the gate where I had seen piles of stacked lumber the night before.

From a distance, I could hear the sounds of people talking loudly and laughing. As I approached the work area, I could hear a large truck motor. The group, which was composed mostly of men with a couple of younger women, was standing in a semi-circle waiting for the van to back into position. A grey cow stood rather passively on the path to the work area. A tall young man who wore his hair in braids called out as I approached.

"We didn't think we'd see you until after the truck was loaded."

I looked at my watch. "I was told the work would begin at 6:30 and would take two hours, so I tried to get here in time to work the final ten minutes. But I see it isn't going to work out that way."

He laughed. "We waited for you. Besides, the truck driver didn't get up until a few minutes ago."

Loading the truck went along very quickly. When the job was completed, I explained to one of the men that I had broken my glasses that morning, and asked if there was any glue in the camp. Another man was found who had some glue at his house, and he and I went together up the path. The house, which had probably at one time served as a kind of barracks, is quite large and is divided into apartments. Inside, his wife and a visitor were chatting.

I had known Tony for a few years. He had stayed on other reservations, and was known to be a craftsman. On the wall of his small apartment was displayed a number of Indian crafts, some braided sweetgrass, and some posters. He found the glue immediately and began trying to repair the glasses.

"It's pretty nice here," he said, "but the growing season is too short." He had the glue and the broken parts in place within seconds. "I don't know if it will hold or not. Maybe it will hold if you leave it overnight. It says on the label that if you get this stuff on your fingers and you glue your fingers together, you can't get your fingers apart until somebody cuts them apart."

Tony is a huge, friendly-looking man who speaks in a generally soft tone of voice. He has long hair and, on this day, was wearing an earring in his right ear.

"What brings you to these parts," he asked.

"I'm just visiting," I said. He put the glasses down and went to get some coffee. His apartment was smaller than Krakwirakiron's house, although he and his wife have no children, at least not yet. "Are you getting along all right"

"Sure, but I do have a problem selling crafts. During other times of the year, we are able to sell crafts when we have speaking engagements on the outside. But during the summer, the only crafts we sell are those we sell at the gate. And the gate is where we sell to tourists or occasional passers. They usually want small stuff, and they don't even take much of that. I generally like to make larger things, beadwork and leather work. But, of course, they cost more, and that means I need to go outside, or somebody needs to go outside to sell them. We use the money we get to buy the things we use here in the house – coffee, some bread, things like that."

After coffee, the glasses were about as glued as they were going to be. I tried them on. They seemed to hold. I didn't test the glue for dryness, fearing my finger might be permanently welded to a plastic glasses frame. His wife suggested that we begin the stroll to the cookhouse. On the way, Tony and I talked about the people we knew, and I provided some of the gossip that those moments occupy. He and his wife held hands as we walked. We passed the lake, and more chickens. As we approached the cookhouse, two young pigs rounded the corner and playfully ran through a small group of half-grown chickens. A grey cow was standing on the path to the cookhouse.

There were children ruming around playing, and more geese walking the grass on the side toward the lake, and somehow the scene reminded me of movie scenes of villages in other countries on other continents. There is a sense of urgency, of purpose and of seriousness in Ganienkeh, but there is not the air of hurriedness. People, ducks or cow do not appear to be hurrying. And sometimes, one could forget that this place was thought of as an armed occupation, and that a whole other kind of world exists just beyond the gate.

Lunch consisted mostly of fresh vegetables made into a kind of porridge of green string beans, carrots, corn and potatoes. It was excellent. The porridge was accompanied by some boiled sweet corn. Most of the camp came in for lunch, which was quite liesurely by most standards. Afterwards, I sought out Karoniaktajeh, one of the camp's elders.

"Maybe you and I can get together for some homework," I suggested.

"To do that, " he said, " we would have to go home." We headed for his cabin.

Karoniaktajeh lives alone in one of the small cabins. He is an artist, a powerfully built man with long hair and an expressive face. He speaks softly, often looking away as he speaks. He is one of the most prolific storytellers I have met.

His cabin reflects both his artistry and his politics. On one wall was a picture of the statue of Justice, holding scales which were definitely out of balance. The words accompanying the picture stated something to the effect that the United Nations has restored 73 nations to their native territory, and that it is time that they turn their attention to the restoration of the territories of the Native nations of North America.

My eyes scanned the room. There were many posters. We talked for a long time about a number of subjects, about Ganienkeh and the meaning of sovereignty. And about the people at home. Always the discussion returned to sovereignty and the Indian people at home.

There is no electricity at Ganienkeh, and while I was there I did not hear any rock music or other evidence that the outside world was only a few miles away. The lighting in the cabin, in the daytime, comes through two small windows on the wall which faces the main road through the camp, a dirt road only a few feet from the cabin. As we spoke, my attention kept returning to a poster which was displayed on the wall behind where I was sitting on a wooden box of some kind.

The poster was a picture of a sign standing in front of a gate. "Ganienkeh Territory, Established 50,000 B.C."

"I made that poster because the white man is always saying that we are not the original people of this land. They are always saying that we arrived here and drove the Algonquin people out, just as the white man came here and drove us from our lands. But it's not true."

"There is no evidence that the Six Nations ever drove any other peoples from these lands," I agreed.

"The poster says Ganienkeh, our nation, was established 50,000 years before Christ. I used that figure because there is some evidence that human speech began at about that time. I read that in a book somewhere. Fifty thousand years ago man developed the ability to talk, and that was when our nation was formed."

"The white man says that we came here from across the Bering Strait during one of the Ice Ages. But it doesn't seem to me to have been possible. The Ice Ages were times when the ice was piled four miles high. How could a peopie cross over a bridge that was four miles high? That would be more than 20,000 feet. There would not be enough oxygen for the people to breathe. I just don't believe it.

I thought about it for a while. "The last Ice Age ended about 10,000 years before Christ. I have heard that a man in Oneonta has evidence that humans were present in upstate New York at least as early as 70,000 years ago, and maybe longer. That's a long time ago. I don't know what that means about our situation today, but it does seem that the argument that the Indians came here across the Bering Straight has no real meaning. Indians, presumably, were living on this continent when Neanderthal Man dominated Europe. And the oldest fossils that I have ever yet heard as identified as being an ancestor to man were 23 million years old, and were found in Montana! Maybe the human species crossed the Bering Strait, but maybehe went the other way."

At about that moment, there was a knock at the door. A good-looking young man opened the door and poked his head inside. "We are looking for you two," he said. "There is a meeting at the main house."

I reached for my glasses, which I had placed on a shelf. As I picked them up, one of the arms came off.

We walked slowly down the path toward the meeting place. There was a grey cow standing in the road. There were dogs and chickens and people talking on the steps into the kitchen. Toward the gatehouse, I could hear the sounds of nails being pulled from boards. When we were loading boards that morning, I noticed that no scrap of lumber was cast aside, even the smallest pieces were taken. They would be useful somewhere.

As we climbed the steps to the meeting house, my eye was attracted to the sight of a girl of seven or eight carrying her two-year-old brother along a path toward one of the cabins. Three and a half years is a long time to cccupy a piece of land, a long time to carry on a struggle. Then Karoniaktajeh's words came to mind. Fifty thousand years is a long time to carry on a struggle. I put my glasses back in my jacket pocket. No one else in Ganienkeh, that I could see, was wearing glasses.

NEW WORLD COMIN'
Truth is Stranger than History Books
by Medicine Story
Welcome, brothers. What is it you seek?
We seek a haven from injustice + persecution
You may camp here. We will show you how we hunt + fish + plant
The English are stealing from our gardens and our traps
They must be hungry. Go and take them some more food.
The trouble is, we don't have enough land. Sell us some more land, Chief.
The Earth cannot be sold. She is our Mother. You cannot sell your own mother. She does not belong to us, We belong to her. She is for us all to share + care for.
Right, Chief. All we want is our share. Just make your mark on this paper and we'll give you some kettles and knives.
It is good to have peace with our English neighbors
How quaint these savages are. Like children. We must guide them in the paths of righteousness

Short Notes

ROSEBUD RESERVATION BOUNDARIES DECISION

The Rosebud Sioux tribe has been unsuccessful in its attempt to regain some quarter million acres of land within original reservation boundaries. In 1889 the Rosebud Reservation was established at three million acres. Homesteading acts were passed in 1904, 1907, and 1910, opening certain of the territories of the Reservation (today Gregory, Tripp, Mellette, and part of Lyman counties,) to settlement. The Rosebud tribe contends that the land taken by settlers was not removed from reservation boundaries because of the sale. The tribe claims that it did not surrender jurisdiction over the land.

In a 32-page opinion, Justice William H. Rehnquist stated that "Congress clearly intended to diminish the boundaries of the reservation by the Homestead Act of 1904 and 1910." Justice Rehnquist reasoned that "In determining whether or not the 1889 reservation boundaries were subsequently diminished by Congressional enactments, we are guided by well-established legal principles. The underlying premise is that Congressional intent will control."

Justice Marshall dissented, saying that the general rule has been in such cases that legal ambiguities were to be resolved to the benefit of the Indians: "Today, however, the Court obliterates this distinction, and by holding against the Tribe when the evidence concerning Congressional intent is palpably ambiguous, erodes the general principles for interpreting Indian statutes."

DIA CONSULTANT AND FORMER BAND CHIEF GET JAIL TERMS INFRAUD CASE

NORTH BATTLEFORD, Sask. – The former chief and band administrator of the Moosomin Indian band, and a former consultant for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development of Canada have received jail terms for their parts in a fraudulent tractor deal. John Gladue, 33, former chief, and president of the Cree Cattle Company, was sentenced to three years in the Saskatchewan Penitentiary in Prince Alberta. His wife Catherine, 27, former band administrator and Cree Cattle Company secretary, received a one year term at the Pine Grove Correctional Centre in Prince Alberta.

Kasper Bawolin of Saskatoon, 27, former financial advisor to district Indian bands, also received a three-year sentence at Saskatchewan Penitentiary, while his brother, Walter Bawolin, 38, an insurance adjuster and part-time farm equipment salesman, was found guilty and ordered to make restitution of $20,000 within two months or serve an 18-month jail sentence.

The fraud occurred in late 1975 when the Cree Cattle Company obtained an $80,000 check to purchase a crawler tractor. The money was used to buy a second-hand tractor for $43,500, and the remaining $36,500 was placed in a bank account opened by John Gladue. In sentencing the four conspirators, Mr. Justice A.L. Sirois said Gladue's actions had resulted in his band's failure to receive a $2.5 million development program grant.

NORTHEAST LAND CASES

William Gunter, President Carter's special representative to investigate the Maine land case recommended that the U.S. appropriate $25 million and act as trustee for 100,000 acres of land for the Passamaquody and Penobscot Tribes. In view of the fact that the tribes had already narrowed their claims from 12.5 to 5.5 million acres, leaving out the land granted as of 1790 and the settled coastal areas, most native people are totally unsatisfied with the token settlement proposed. Gunter has made no recommendation in the Mashpee land case, which now goes to court on October 17. The contention of the defendants will be that the Mashpee Wampanoags are not a tribe, a defense that the plaintiffs, who have always maintained a distinct and separate culture little known to the rest of Cape Cod and who are proud of their history and their traditions, believe is spurious and far-fetched. On the following weekend, October 21-23, the Wampanoag Nation will hold its traditional Nikkomasachmiawene or annual unity council at Mashpee.

Feelings run high on these land issues, and federal district judge Walter Jay Skinner is receiving letters from all over the county. Mail will not affect the outcome in court, but even if the tribe is successful in its suit the effects could be negated by Congress which is influenced by public sentiment. White backlash groups such as the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities are stirring opinion against native cases in Maine, Mashpee and elsewhere. Meanwhile, all charges were dismissed against the Wampanoag young people arrested for violating the anti-noise law by singing and drumming in their traditional village camp last July.

Vernon Bellecourte announces the new address of the AIM National office is P.O. Box 190, Minneapolis, Minn., 55440, tel. (612) 331-3430.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN ON CATAWBA CLAIMS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Solicitor Leo M' Krulitz announced on August 30, 1977, that the Interior Department is recommending to the Department of Justice that legal action be started on behalf of the Catawba Indian Tribe to recover its 140,000 acre reservation in South Carolina. The proposed suit would be similar to actions now pending on behalf of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians land calims in Maine and the land claims of three tribes in New York State. The Tribe has sought Federal assistance in the assertion of their claim since 1904.

Krulitz stated, "The action we recommend is that the United States finally act upon its long neglected duty under the Non-Intercourse Act to nullify the 1840 Treaty with South Carolina and restore possession of the 1763 Treaty reservation to the Catawba Tribe."

The 15 mile square area claimed by the Catawba Tribe surrounds the town of Rock Hill in the north-central section of the State. Prior to 1763, the Tribe occupied a much large area under aboriginal title. In 1763, the Tribe relinquished their claim to the larger area in return for Great Britain's assurance that they would have unmolested possession of the 15 mile square reservation. When the United States succeeded to Great Britain's sovereignty in 1783, the new government did not abrogate the 1763 Catawba Treaty. By 1840, the Catawba's treaty eservation was overrun by whites who continually ignored the Tribes protests. "In 1840," Krulitz said, "the Tribe finally purported to convey their remaining title and interest in the 140,000 acres to the State of South Carolina by treaty. The Federal Government was in no way involved in the negotiations and never subsequently gave its consent. The 1840 conveyance was therefore void under the Non-Intercourse Act."

WILL THE PIPELINE ROUTE REALLY CHANGE ANYTHING

Indians in the Northwest Territories can rest a little easier now that the heat is off. I am making specific reference to the controversial issue in relation the the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline which brought strong opposition to the multi-million gas extraction project destined to (as the Indians put it) unbalance nature and its inhabitants. If the pipeline had gone through the NWT as originally planned it could have meant Indians would face serious social, economic, and environmental problems - but then who cared. Certainly it was not the Canadian government, nor was it the U.S. political faction because they needed life-giving resource to supply the country's needs.

When the Berger Report was made public, recommending that the pipeling not be designated for the Northwest Territories route for at least 10 years, again there was a rift of public attention drawn to the political issue because Canada could have used the bucks and the States obviously needed the quickest route possible to supply their energy-drained country. Mr. Thomas Berger supported the Dene in their protest of the pipeline going through because he too saw the handwriting on the wall and took it to heart what the pipeline project could do in upsetting the ecology of a country and what it invariably meant for the people living in the area. He too must have gained some insight as to the Indian philosophy and his closeness to nature, because his report carried the weight needed to dissuade both governments – thus an alternate route is now being considered.

What are you doing?
(Taking him to jail)
What is jail?
(A place to correct wrongdoing and insure justice)
(What did he do?
He couldn't pay his taxes
What are taxes?
Taxes are how we pay for the jail
How does a cage insure justice?
Justice is democracy. Democracy is the power of the many over the few and jails insure us that power.
But we have never had jails.
You see how backward you people are?
You should be grateful that we have come to bring the blessings of civilization: jails, taxes, armies, churches, schools, asylums, cities....
It all means power, chief.
But we have been happy without these things.
Nonsense. How could you be happy? You couldn't even speak English.
Medicine Story
Are you happy then?
We will be, as soon as we have enough power. Power means happiness. It compensates us for this miserable life until we get to heaven.
A strange teaching. But as long as we can each go our ways in peace...
Chief, you've got a lot to learn

STATE OF WASHINGTON TO RE-TRY YVONNE WANROW

The State of Washington has announced its decision to re-try Yvonne Wanrow for fatally shooting a known child molester and wounding his companion. The new trial is set for September 26, 1977 in Spokane County Superior Court.

Wanrow, a Colville Indian, was convicted of second degree murder and first degree assault on Mother's Day 1973. Her conviction was overturned by the State Court of Appeals because a tape recording of her telephone conversation with police immediately after the incident was used at her trial. The prosecution used the tape recording to support its theory that the shooting was deliberate by claiming Wanrow's voice seemed calm. The prosecution appealed the reversal and the case was argued before the State Supreme Court in February, 1976,

The Washington Supreme Court upheld the lower court's ruling on the inadmissibility of the tape, and also reversed on the ground that the trial judge's instruction to the jury concerning self-defense did not "make clear that the defendants actions are to be judged against her own subjective impressions, and not those which a detached jury might determine to be objectively reasonable."

The defense team has filed a motion to dismiss Wanrow's case in the interests of justice. The motion states that the deceased, William Wesler, known as "Chicken Bill" for his proclivity for young children, would not have been killed had the police responded to requests for protection. Wesler had been identified as having raped Wanrow's babysitter's seven-year-old daughter (in whose home the shooting took place,) and had attempted to molest Wanrow's eight-year-old son and another child on the afternoon before Wesler's death. Knowing this, and knowing that Wesler, a former mental patient, had attempted to break into the babysitter's home, the police refused to take any action.

The motion continues: "Yvonne Wanrow's case is an example of the problems of women and children facing sexual and physical assault who have not received meaningful protection from the police or the judicial system. The unresponsiveness of law enforcement and judicial machinery has left increasing numbers of women without any choice but to defend themselves and their children against male assailants, often even their own husbands. Indeed, the Wanrow case illustrates the serious consequences of police inaction in the area of child molestation specifically. The Wanrow case dramatized and tragically foreshadows the issue of the need for better police protections for the victims of sexual assault."

Church leaders in Spokane have filed an *amicus curiae* brief in support of the motion to dismiss. Their brief states: "Yvonne Wanrow was a woman caught up in a web of events which inevitably led to violence and might have been averted had she been able to rely on the protection of society...If Wesler had been taken into custody, even temporarily, or if the police had promised surveillance of the neighborhood in order to reassure the women they were being protected, the tragedy would have undoubtedly been averted."

Wanrow is presently out on bail and living on the Colville Reservation in Inchelium, Washington. Her defense group needs support, financial, political, and otherwise. She is represented by the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, 14th Floor, New York, New York 10003. For further information, contact: Beth Bochnak, (212) 674-3304.

Short Notes

CHARGES AGAINST BANKS DISMISSED

A federal Appeals Court has upheld a dismissal of weapons charges which the government had attempted to press against the former American Indian Movement leader. The charges arose from an incident which took place in Oregon in 1976. The court found that a district court dismissal on the grounds that the government had destroyed evidence was valid. The government had appealed.

COLUMBIA NATIVE LEADER KILLED BY POLICE

The Regional Indian Council of Cauca (Columbia,) has sent notice to the general public and to the Native people of Columbia, that the great leader and friend, Justiniano Lame of San Ignacio, was killed on the 2nd of February, 1977, by Police forces.

Together with other members of his community, Mr. Lame happened to be working on ancestral land which was the cradle of Columbian Indian leader Manuel Quintin Lame. Today this land is claimed by the landholder, Josefina Menox de Angulo, who had directed the repression of the local community and who is paying a police post along the road directly for that purpose. Continuous hostilities against the people of San Ignacio have been reported recently, including various cases of attempted killings, and frequent arrests. Justiniano Lame was jailed a number of times.

On February 2, police arrived at the community and arrested six men, including Justiniano. They had hardly started when one policeman, without any notice or cause, fired a shot at Justiniano, wounding one of his legs. The wounded man was forced to continue walking without even a tourniquete to stop the bleeding. When in Popayan, he was not transported to the hospital, but left unattended, bleeding to death. Immediately the police hastened to bury him secretly, and to date his relatives have not been able to retrieve the corpse.

A systematic campaign is being waged against the Indian population and their organization, the CIRC. The Native people believe that the landlords are responsible for actions which are designed to justify the killing of leaders and activists in the Indian movement.

CARTER CREATES NEW POST

President Carter has nominated Forrest J. Gerard, a member of the Blackfeet Nation, to be the first Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs. Gerard had previously been an employe of the Senate Interior Committee staff, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Indian Health Service.

NORTHERN CHEYENNE RECEIVES CLASS I AIR STATUS

Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Douglas Costle has approved the Northern Cheyenne petition for a Class I air quality standard. The approval designates the Northern Cheyenne Territory the first such area in the United States. Passage of this classification had been delayed for several months because of a petition lodged by Patrick Stands Over Bull, former Crow Tribal Chairman. The air quality standard is expected to limit industrial development in the coal industry on the Crow lands.

Rumors have been circulating to the effect that the Montana Power Co. may try to file suit with the Environmental Protection Agency, although the Company denies these rumors. The company is already, however, challenging the right of an Indian "tribe" to make such a petition in the United States Supreme Court.

REJECT $15 MILLION OFFER FOR POWER CORRIDOR

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes rejected a Montana Company offer of $15 million for a 50-year power corridor lease for two 500-KV lines through the southern part of the Flathead Reservation. Bill Morigeau said that Montana Power's offer would have been a real bargain for Montana Power. Routing around the Flathead lands will add about 38 miles to the line, costing about $9 million plus about $1.3 million annually in increased maintainance. The utility cannot force condemnation of the reservation land under the state's emminent domain laws, Morigeau said, because the land is under Federal trust.

TRIBAL CHAIRMAN IMPEACHED

Following months of disputes over the governing authority, and specifically over the coal contracting authority of the Crow lands, the Crow Tribe removed Pat Stands Over Bull from the office of tribal chairman. Vice Chairman Forrest Horn assumed the presiding roll.

MAINE INDIANS REJECT GUNTER PROPOSAL

The Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indian Tribes reportedly sent a telegram to President Carter expressing dissatisfaction with a plan for settling their claims to about half the State of Maine. The plan, proposed by Judge William Gunter whom the President appointed as a negotiator-mediator, would give tribes $25 million and 100,000 acres of land. Nicholas Sapiel, Penobscot tribal council governor, said that the Indians would prefer a court settlement. The Gunter proposal, however, includes having Congress extinguish the Indian claim if they reject the settlement.

WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO....

Fred R. Harris, former U.S. senator from Oklahoma and unsuccessful Democratic Presidential candidate in 1976, says he has retired from politics. Harris, who lives in an adobe[complex near Albuquerque, N.M., is today an author, raises chickens, and makes bread. He is also teaching politics at the University of New Mexico. He and his wife LaDonna have been travelling the lecture circuit as a team. Says LaDonna: "I took this poor white man and made him what he is today."

MEANS TO RUN

The Committee to Re-elect Russell Means has announced his candidacy for the Pine Ridge Council office. Mr. Means ran for the tribal council presidency in 1974, and was defeated by Richard Wilson in a disputed election which was later declared a fraudulent election by the Department of the Interior.

COMMENTS FROM CONGRESS

Rep. Morris Udall, D-Wash.: "I want to lay to rest the issue of wholesale, nation-wide Indian land claims. The spectre is being raised about Indians claiming title to vast areas of the United States, such as has occurred in Maine. This is patently ridiculous.

Rep. Thomas Foley, D-Wash.: "It has simply reached the point of monstrous inequity...the U.S. Department of Justice is coming in with the weight of the Federal Government and representing those claims against other trespass or any possible actions for contract violations, we are keeping alive Indian claims."

Rep. Don Bonker, D-Wash.: "The backlash that is building against Indians across this Nation, and the rebellion of other citizens who see themselves unprotected by the Constitution that guarantees their rights, indicate that Congress must soon address a total cutoff on the filing of Indian claims."

Ted Risenhoover, D-Okla. : "I sense a mood in this country that our ancestors stole the land from the Indians fair and square. In my own home State, Oklahoma, the home of many Indians, the Republican Tulsa Tribune has strongly editorialized against honoring these ancestral claims."

A.I.M. CONFERENCE

The American Indian Movement, will sponsor an international conference at Minneapolis/St. Paul Minnesota November 2,3,4,5,6, 1977, to discuss issues ranging from defense of Indian political prisoners to International Treaty rights. The conference is co-sponsored by the International Indian Treaty Council and the Federation of Survival Schools. For Information, write: American Indian Movement, P.O. Box 190, Minneapolis, Minn. 55440; or International Indian Treaty Council Federation, 777 United Nations Place, N.Y., N.Y., 10459; or Federation of Survival Schools, 1209 4th St., S.E., Minneapolis, Monn 55414.

The True Mission Of The F.B.I.

"One dirty trick, two dirty tricks, three dirty..."

For more than fifty years, United States federal law enforcement agencies have been focusing their attention, not on organized crime, not on crime at all, but on the legal activities of United States citizens who are working for social change. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency, along with military intelligence organizations, have conducted a world-wide effort to maintain a steady flow of information, and have and presumable are presently working to confuse or in any way necessary hinder the operation of any kind of civil rights or cultural change group anywhere in the world. They have subverted the internal workings of other countries, collaborated in political assasinations, and conducted campaigns directed at movement leadership in ways which make the now-celebrated Sacco-Vincetti trials seem more the rule than the exception. And their activities are presently focused on the American Indian Movement, in fact on any Native effort at reform or justice, as is evidenced in the number and facts surrounding the trials of Native people today. The intelligence community has suffered some setbacks, but overall, they have learned from their mistakes, and they are still practicing, refining their techniques.

Despite widespread surfacing of FBI and CIA abuses of civil rights, the Carter administration is presently moving toward an even greater centralization of power than existed under the now-exposed activities of figures such as John Edgar Hoover. Approval has been secured for an FBI project which will computerize the collection and emission of state and local police records on wanted and missing persons, as well as stolen property. That project is designed to immeasurably strengthen, by streamlining, the exercise of executive power in domestic and foreign affairs. Data collection by police and its use for harassment and intimidation of citizens has always been almost impossible to prevent and limit. A national computer center drawing upon the records of state and local police throughout the country will be a crucial long step toward federal government surveillance of all citiens. The key to comprehensive surveillance is the efficient organization of "records."

Police surveillance and sophisticated technology has had no measurable effect on retarding ordinary crime, which has continued its steady increase among all classes. But police technique has been consistently directed against dissident cultural and political activity. This is especially true of surveillance of the left, and even when that activity subsides, as in the past few years, Surveillance activity does not subside. Police have generally regarded people working for social change as "suspects" or potential criminals requiring close surveillance, even in the absence of any criminal activity of any kind. But the police have generally winked at conservatives and rightists as either a little "odd" or as overzealous patriots. Often the police have collaborated with and protected them. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration recently submitted a report to President Carter emphasizing the likelihood of major civil distrubances in the cities in the near future and recommending the use of preventive detentions as a remedy. Carter stated in a press conference at about that time that he would resort to preventive detention "only" in "dire emergency."

But there is much evidence to indicate that the intelligence community has moved ahead with its own policy of "preventive detention," using the court system and the grand jury system as its tools. The FBI computer project will immeasurably strengthen the powers of political repression at all levels of government, and if effected, will be in place as social conflict sharpens and intensifies in the future. The FBI has been trying to start this program since 1973, (at about the time of the Wounded Knee Occupation,) but the Ford Administration dared not approve it while revelations of FBI illegal and corrupt activities were still very much in public view. It is the kind of police technique the U.S. government has turned over to Latin American and other dictatorships. Now, while Carter's selection of a new "reform" FBI director is getting headlines, he has quietly given the green light to the same project the Ford administration rejected.

> "THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAS SUFFERED SOME SETBACKS, BUT OVERALL, THEY HAVE LEARNED FROM THEIR MISTAKES, AND THEY ARE STILL PRACTICING, REFINING THEIR TECHNIQUES."

FBI and CIA activities which threaten even the facade of human and civil rights in the United States have proven to be even more common and more organized than even the more paranoid civil rights defenders would have voiced a decade ago. An FBI memo made public on July 1 shows that SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, operates in the United States with FBI knowledge. It is believed that SAVAK is associated with assination plots directed against Iranian dissidents in exile. The CIA has admitted that some alcoholics, drug addicts, and terminal cancer patients may have been unknowing victims of a drug experimentation program which was conducted during the 1950s and 1960s. This included LSD experiments.

Former CIA chief William Colby has admitted that the CIA has used a large amount of money to buy the Chilean parliament and to finance a series of "dirty tricks" to sabotage the Chilean economy and to precipitate a military coup against Chile's elected President Allende. The coup has set off one of the bloodiest episodes in Latin American history. There is growing evidence that such activities on the part of the CIA are common, standard operating procedure of the CIA in Latin America.

The evidence also points to the use of missionaries by the CIA as informants, and there may have been missionaries who became real agents. The fact that some missionaries may have acted as CIA agents has stimulated an interesting response in the missionary community. It is a response which Americans who are concerned about such issues as civil rights and freedoms of any kind would do well to ponder. A report on the problem in THE NEW WINE EXCHANGE, June, 1977, stated: "The true problem is not so much in the fact that some did collaborate consciously or unconsciously with the CIA but rather the problem lies in the lack of credibility that this creates for the North American missionary. This lack of credibility is increased to even a greater degree by the alienating activities of such pseudo-religious groups as the Mormons and Jehova's Witnesses or the notable presence of the North Americans in catholic pentecostal and charasmatic groups..."

That article came in response to information that missionaries had functioned as CIA operatives in Bolivia, a country which is presently involved in mass movement of Native populations in response to the relocation of whites from South Africa. The problem, as they see it, is not that missionaries are used as CIA operatives, but that the bad publicity makes missionary work less effective.

That pretty much sums up the way the intelligence community sees their own problems at the moment. The problem is seen not so much in the light of the abuses which have been perpetrated against the rights of people, but in the fact that those abuses have been publicized, and that the laws do not allow those abuses as they are presently written. The solutions are obvious: make sure in the future that people don't find out about it, develop and sharpen strategies to meet the same ends, and change the laws to make such activities legal in case of a slip-up. There is much to suggest that the strategy is enjoying some success. The *cause celebre* of the right wing at this writing is the trial of John J. Kearney, an FBI big-wig who was responsible for illegal activities in connection with the Weathermen organization.

The Weathermen were probably chosen as a trial balloon because their activities are remembered by the public with little sympathy. But the Weathermen were not the only group so abused by the FBI. The FBI also infiltrated the American Civil Liberties Union, and kept dossiers on leading members such as Clarence Darrow, Helen Keller, and Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. The infiltration was personally supervised by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI from 1924 to his death in 1972. A recent citizen's review committee released a report alleging that the FBI has engaged in a continuous harassment of vocal Indians on South Dakota reservations. The report claimed that the FBI "conducts itself as an Army of Occupation on South Dakota Native American lands."

The non-government group is composed of 27 religious, community and labor organizations. The report stated, in part. "...measures used by the federal agency included intimidation of older Indians, and children, and the circulation of false and inflammatory information." The report goes on to accuse the FBI of conducting a full-scale military operation on the Pine Ridge Reservation. It also accused the news media of failing to report abuses.

The accusation relating to media failure to report intelligence agency abuses appears to be well-founded. Two young investigative reporters for PENTHOUSE magazine, of all places, allege that the Copley News Service, a subsidiary of the Copley Press, worked long and closely with the CIA in providing information on Latin American events. During the 1950s and 1960s, the CIA worked closely with CBS News. At one time or

LISTEN, I CAN GET SOME DYNAMITE, LET'S BLOW UP THE COURT HOUSE
YEAH, I'VE GOT SOME GRENADES
I KNOW WHERE I CAN GET A MACHINE GUN, LET'S KIDNAP THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
OKAY, LET'S GET THE STUFF AND MEET BACK HERE AT 8
RIGHT
HOKA HEY!
WE GOT EVERYTHING?
ALL READY
FBI.... YOU'RE BOTH UNDER ARREST!
Medicine Story

another, the CIA worked with at least 50 American media individuals. Copley may have also cooperated with the FBI.

Meanwhile, the FBI's work in spying on political (as opposed to criminal) activities has not proven to be exactly cheap. It cost the FBI (actually the American taxpayers) $1,683,000 to spy on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and what the government got for that money was mostly pamphlets and lists of names. There was no evidence of either criminal activity or violent action.

The list of media organizations which have collaborated with the CIA or other government intelligence agencies is long and includes the major news agencies of the United States. Carl Bernstein, (of Watergate fame,) writing for ROLLING STONE magazine stated that 400 American journalists work with the CIA over the past 25 years. Cooperative news agancies include such stalwarts as ABC, NBC, CBS, UPI, the Hearst chain, Time, INc., Newsweek, the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Louisville Courier-Journal, Reuters, and the Associated Press. The Fourth Estate, it could be said, lacks total credibility.

The Minnesota Citizen's Review Commission recommended that citizen review groups be created throughout the country to monitor FBI activities and that law enforcement on the Sioux reservations be returned to Indians. But even that solution, were it to be followed up, does not appear to be an adequate answer to the real problem. Attorney General Griffin Bell has admitted that he is not certain that the FBI has stopped the allegedly illegal investigative tactics carried out during the "previous administrations" (our phrase.) His statements have the appearance of a smoke screen in the light of other developments.

President Carter interviewed five men in search of a replacement for Clarence Kelley who will retire next January. The five were recommended by a nine-member advisory panel which was chaired by Dupont executive Irving Shapiro, who is remembered as a prosecutor of suspected communists during the McCarthy era. (Dupont, his employer, is best reknown for its right-wing politicking and anti-liberal activities.) And things haven't been getting any better out in the field either.

At 6:00 AM on June 8th, FBI agents broke into the Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. offices of the Church of Scientology, lashed open file cabinets and several hours later walked off with "a ton of stuff." A warrant for over 100 documents had been granted by a Washington Grand Jury currently investigating charges that the Scientologists had planted Church members on the staffs of federal agencies looking into the Church and used illegal means to obtain additional documents. This FBI/grand jury investigation follows the pattern used earlier this year to obtain access to all of the files of the Hispanic Commission of the Episcopal Church in New York. By using the grand jury's power of subpoena and warrant, the FBI can "legally" gain access to an organization's files.

A connection between some members of the U.S. Labor Party and the FBI has been shown in several intelligence documents received from New Hampshire State Police by the Clamshell Alliance. The data was obtained through a Clamshell lawsuit seeking damages for the loss of civil liberties during the April/May 1977 occupation of the proposed Seabrook nuclear power plant. The intelligence reports are based on several discussions between FBI agents and Labor Party officials prior to the Seabrook occupation. The Labor Party representatives charged that Clamshell is headed by former SDS members bent on using terrorist tactics. The Party also attempted to link the upcoming Seabrook action to a bloody occupation in West Germany, and quoted Clamshell leaders as saying the only way they would leave the site would be if they were killed. On the basis of that intelligence, the governor of New Hampshire responded to the demonstration with hightened paranoia.

Dirty Trick One: Mohawk and Skyhorse

Paul Durant Skyhorse and Richard Billings Mohawk are two Native men on trial in Los Angeles for the October 10, 1974 murder of George Aird, a Ventura County cab driver. Mohawk and Skyhorse, who have been identified as American Indian Movement leaders, are among the victims of intelligence agency programs intended to discredit and dissolve groups which have been identified as having philosophies which oppose government policies. The evidence of the case presents substantial documentation of the theory that the trial is essentially the product of some more of the "dirty tricks" of the FBI and other covert operations, and is becoming one of the major test cases of the ability of such agencies to utilize the court system to achieve political objectives.

On the afternoon of October 10, 1974, Mohawk and Skyhorse were invited by Virginia De Luce, also known as "Blue Dove," to attend a demonstration in Los Angeles in support of Sarah Bad Heart Bull. DeLuce provided the transportation. There was little, if any demonstration, however, but an army of photographers and observers were present. An unknown government agent took pictures of Skyhorse and Mohawk, pictures which were said to be used to identify them a week later in Phoenix, Arizona. Blue Dove had been the treasurer of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Indian Movement.

Around 10 p.m. on the same evening, cabdriver George Aird picked up three fares near the Hollywood Hills home of "Kung Fu" actor David Carridine. Two hours later, Aird was dead. Arrested at the scene, wearing blood-stained clothing, were three persons not associated with the American Indian Movement: Holly Broussard, Marvin Red Shirt, and Marcella Eaglestaff.

A week later, Paul Durant Skyhorse and Richard Billings Mohawk were arrested in Phoenix, Arizona and returned to California. They were subsequently indicted by a Ventura County Grand Jury for the murder of George Aird. Marvin Red Shirt, Holly Broussard, and Marcella Eaglestaff were given signed immunity agreements in return for their promised testimony against Mohawk and Skyhorse, despite the fact that all the physical evidence pointed to them.

Since the arrest and indictment of Skyhorse and Mohawk, strong evidence has emerged which points to intelligence agency involvement in the decision to prosecute the only legitimate American Indian Movement members present at "AIM Camp 13" on the night of the murder. Virginia Miller, or Extrom, or Riccardo, or DeLuce, aka "Blue Dove," for at least three years, and possibly much longer, was, and presumably still is, an undercover operative for the FBI. According to her testimony at an all-day hearing in August 1976, she became an FBI "agent" in early 1973 and went off the FBI payroll in January 1976.

Blue Dove's motivations were money – she was paid regularly and in cash, but she said she couldn't remember how much – and her conservative political beliefs. Her "handlers," she said, were FBI agents Gilbert Cordova and Marty Gonzalez, both of whom apparently were responsible for the collection of information about Native people and Chicanos in the Los Angeles area, as well as supervision of the disruption of their "subjects."

She said she regarded herself as working for Indian people by spying on them for the FBI. By this, she said she meant that Indians should work with intelligence agencies of the U.S. government to defeat the "Communist menace," including protecting "my people and the American people from any acts of violence....to be able to have the best that was possible for the Indian people so nothing would be destroyed with all the work we had done since I know of, 1963."

Blue Dove is a personal friend of the Barry Goldwater family. She has many contacts among the wealthy power elite of the U.S., including the late Howard Hughes, whose Watergate activities and CIA connections have been revealed. She was briefly married to a Ricky Riccardo, "younger son" of a reputed Chicago Mafia family. When the marriage broke up, she moved to Hollywood where, with the aid of a black wig, she turned herself into an Indian.

The original prosecutor in the "AIM Camp 13" case was John Debroth, then district attorney for Ventura County. In 1975, as the case was about to go to trial, Debroth told an FBI agent that he was going to call Deluce as a witness. "Don't do that," the agent said. "She's one of our most important informants. We don't want to risk having her burned [exposed]." Debroth insisted he needed Blue Dove since her testimony would be the only evidence (other than tainted testimony by admitted participants in the murder) which would sat Skyhorse and Mohawk returned to the camp the night of the murder after Blue Dove had conveniently taken them to a non-existent Sarah Bad Heart Bull demonstration.

Debroth was then contacted by the U.S. Attorney for the federal district of California, who urged him to leave Blue Dove alone. Debroth refused. He was then contacted by representatives from the U.S. Justice Department, the parent agency of the FBI, and advised not to call Blue Dove as a witness. Debroth told them, "Unless someone with the power to fire me orders me not to call her, I'm going to use her." But Debroth was not fired – he was kicked upstairs to a "better job" and taken off the case. Assistant district attorney Michael Bradbury then took over, and for unknown reasons – perhaps out of simple justice, perhaps out of fear of a political hot potato if the facts came out – Bradbury wrote Skyhorse a letter which exposed Blue Dove on January 30, 1976, and then backed off the case, leaving it to assistant district attorney Peter Kassoris.

Two private investigators, hired by the Skyhorse-Mohawk defense team to try to get pictures of Blue Dove and find out where she was living, were heavily surveilled by deputies and feds for several days before her appearance. One of them said afterwards, "Before this, I didn't believe the Federal Government had any involvement in this case – now I have no doubt of it."

Blue Dove used her "credential" as an "Indian activist" to gain positions on advisory boards of educational and charitable groups which try to help Native causes. That put her in a position to spy on such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, and as well, to influence their policies and activities in directions the U.S. Government would want them to follow, or to promote their failure in other directions. She was able to infiltrate Chicano and prison support groups which the U.S. Government has also been spying on and disrupting.

Press and television reports at the time of the murder called it an "Indian Ritual Scalping" and pictires of the tipi and the large "AIM Camp 13" sign at the entrance reinforced the "Indian image." Since then, national press coverage has been anything but intensive.

This lack of media coverage cannot be attributed to a dearth of interesting material. It was reported, for example, (but not by the public press,) that former head of the Ventura County Crime Lab, Jess Litterly, was fired as a result of prosecutor Kassoris' maneuvers against him. Litterly spoke with defense investigators, and said he had been fired because he would not force the "real" scientific evidence into fake patterns that would help the prosecution rather than the defense.

The national press has not shown much interest, either, in reporting the activities of Douglas Durham, a super-star of the intelligence community who infiltrated AIM following the struggle at Wounded Knee in 1973 and who are to be described as AIM's National Security Director. Doug Durham was also in California in 1974, acting out his roll as provacateur, agent, spy, etc.

Paul Skyhorse recalled his encounters with Durham in a letter to AKWESASNE NOTES in early 1976. "I met with Doug Durham at least three times just prior to my arrest. He even came out to the encampment where all the events that surround my imprisonment occurred. I invited him there seeking his help...At the time of our meetings, I remember I felt he was interrogating me. At the time, I felt he was just being wierd.

"He did manage to elicit from me some of my projected ideas and plans, including that I intended to go to Phoenix and participate in the National Indian Education Association Convention, where I was arrested.

"When the decision to repudiate us from AIM was made, Durham was the responsible source. When one of the co-defendants (at that time, 1974,) was able to make $100,000 bond (her father is a retired Navy commander and a millionaire,) Durham met with her.

"What does all this prove? Well, it seems to me he was just too closely associated with the events to be coincidental in the light of his undercover work for a force to discredit AIM. The event certainly discredits AIM, and can be said to discredit all Indians. He certainly didn't lose nothing by his attempt to disassociate AIM from what happened. In fact, he might have raised a question with other AIM sympathizers about whether AIM protects their own.

Paula Giese was at the National AIM office in St. Paul on October 11 when the phone calls started coming in about the murder. Her phone log of that day's activity was confiscated by Doug Durham, although she still has a copy. She drafted a press statement which said, in summary, "We don't really know what happened there. Here is the information we have from the authorities so far. We support their right to a fair trial. AIM does not sponsor or condone this kind of thing, whoever did it."

Durham destroyed the press release, and ordered Giese to give out no information whatsoever. However, he himself was telling callers, "Well, the white men used to scalp Indians, and now we Indians are fighting back." Giese says she also heard him giving statements which identified the arrested persons as AIM members. He implied that AIM was gathering up an army to come to California to free them. He told various AIM members that they should go to the scene. In the press clippings of these days, Durham is identified as a spokesman "from National AIM."

Durham was also in Phoenix when Skyhorse and Mohawk were arrested. After Phoenix, Durham went to Los Angeles – stopping over in Las Vegas for a few days. Durham and others caused trouble within Los Angeles AIM, disrupted national AIM communications, and then he testified at a preliminary hearing for Paul Skyhorse on December 3, 1974.

Skyhorse says Durham introduced himself to the court as an Ohio psychotherapist. This was under oath. It would be hard to believe that Durham's identity as an FBI undercover agent would not be known to authorities – he had all kinds of contacts in Los Angeles even before he had taken his role with AIM – contacts in organized crime (gambling, heroin,) and some with the Los Angeles Police Department. "Dr. Durham" was right in the heart of the defense camp, in a position to spy on it, disrupt it, or guide it.

Durham laid the groundwork which would discredit AIM. He told several persons in the AIM office in early 1974, "A man has given AIM some land in the Californina Hills for a training camp, if you know what

I mean." He had a card typed up with the camp's address and phone on it put into the "security files." Other cards were made listing a name, and giving the Box Canyon address – none of these persons were residing at Box canyon, and two were board members of L.A.'s incorporated AIM chapter. Perhaps these kinds of things are mere coincidents. And perhaps it is also a coincidence that the 1975 Rockefeller Commission Report on the Central Intelligence Agency lists the American Indian Movement as number 5 on the CIA's list of over 1,000 targets for its illegal domestic "Operation CHAOS". (It is believed that Durham played a role in the CIA's ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion.)

Durham had infiltrated AIM for the FBI and other agencies, including a mysterious police/military intelligence association called "Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit," which claims members who are officers of the Ventura County Sheriff's office, the District Attorney's office, and the Los Angeles Police Department. The Ventura County district attorney's office has refused to charge him with perjury, though it is a matter of record that he gave perjured testimony when he posed as a PhD psychologist at Skyhorse's sanity trial. He seems to have given "Camp 13" its name, and after he was exposed, he toured the country as a John Birch lecturer, claiming that AIM was a revolutionary terrorist group.

The AIM Camp 13 murder and its aftermath was a most useful bit of anti–AIM propaganda, a very brutal slaying with a lot of "Indian" and "AIM" stage props. The publicity about it in 1974 and 1975 cost AIM much support in the west coast area. It may have caused Columbia pictures to shelve a major film about Wounded Knee, from which AIM would have realized lot of money, and a for-once-favorable version of current and older history would have been seen by millions of people. As an episoe of Operation CHAOS, and in the annals of Dirty Tricks, it would go down as a goldstar success.

The Presiding judge, Judge Dodson, has shown great reluctance to allow the defense to mount the argument that the indictment of Skyhorse and Mohawk for the Murder of George Aird was a maneuver urged by government intelligence agencies for the purpose of discrediting the American Indian Movement. The presence of government intelligence agency presence in the case is undeniable, and the history of such involvement suggests that the defense theory has historical justification. Recent evidence has emerged to the effect that fifty years ago, during the trials and appeals of Sacco and Vincetti, the FBI conducted illegal wiretaps and manufactured evidence which were effective in sending two innocent men to the electric chair. There is reason to suspect that history is repeating itself in a Los Angeles courtroom in 1977.

Dirty Trick Two: Sid Welsh

Sidney Welsh was on the way to San Francisco after celebrating the New Year, 1976, on his Arizona reservation. He stopped in Indio, Calif., leaving his companions, a cousin and a friend, in a car while he went to a hotel to get some sleep. At 2 a.m. Welsh, unable to rest, returned to the street. Two police were searching his Vega; his companions were under arrest.

The Mohave, a stocky man active in the American Indian Movement, identified himself. "So you're Sidney Welsh," said the police. They had his photograph.

At the Indio jail Welsh was charged with possession of dynamite caps that the police claimed they found inside his car. "How's Russell Means," asked one jailer. "Where is Dennis Banks?"

On New Year's Day, 1976, when he was visiting friends on the reservation, the BIA building there had received a bomb threat. No one was ever charged for this incident and two other bomb threats occurred in Parker the next day when Welsh was in jail, but the prosecutor at his trial claimed that Welsh had planted the seven sticks of dynamite found in the BIA building.

By a "mishap," neither the dynamite bomb found in Parker nor the two blasting caps police allegedly discovered in Welsh's car were entered as evidence in the trial. According to Deputy District Attorney Wally T. Clark, they had accidentally been destroyed at the Twenty-nine Palsm Marine Corps base. The evidence had not even been photographed or tested for fingerprints before demolition.

Despite the absence of evidence, FBI and police testimony convinced the jury Welsh had "recklessly or maliciously" been in possession of explosive devices. Found guilty, Welsh received the mandatory five-to-life sentence.

Welsh recalls a conversation in the judge's chambers shortly before sentencing. "The judge told the D.A., 'These are awful heavy charges to bring against one man.' The D.A. looked away and said, 'The FBI seems to think this is a very important case.'"

Welsh's road to the Indio lockup began in Parker, Arizona, 33 years ago. On Parker, as on many reservations, all but a small fraction of the land allotted to Indians is leased to others – with most of the lease money going to Washington, D.C.. There is a Bureau of Indian Affairs office in town, but federal programs have not alleviated the suffering due to poverty, cultural deprivation, alcoholism and suicide.

As a boy Welsh picked cotton in fields leased by white farmers, rising at 5 a.m. to earn 50 cents an hour. "The shocking part of it was I realized it was our own land."

Welsh went to a reservation school, then a reform school. He drifted into the life of an alcoholic, travelling from skid row to skid row in cities along the West Coast with frequent stops in jail. Welsh describes these years in bars and behind bars as crucial to his development.

"Through drinking I got to know Indian people of all tribes," he said. "I found more similarities than I expected among the Indian people." In jail Welsh had time to read and think. He had felt that he had a problem, something he had to take care of. "until finally realizing that Indian people were never a problem, the problem was on the part of the police, on the part of the system. I took a good look at it and decided to do something about it, not to fall into that trap any more."

At this point Welsh became interested in the American Indian Movement. He read news stories about Dennis Banks and Russell Means. "I understand that we had a lot in common....Once you learn," said Welsh, "you can't sit back. You have to do something. AIM is doing something for our Indian people."

In 1969 Welsh took part in the occupation of Alcatraz. He was impressed by this example of many tribes banding together for a common purpose. In 1974 he co-founded the San Francisco AIM chapter.

Welsh believes he was first noticed by FBI agents during the food giveaway the SLA demanded as a condition fo freeing Patricia Hearst. "We didn't agree with the tactics of the SLA, but people needed to be fed." His involvement in distributing food for the People in Need project made him publicly known as a San Francisco AIM organizer. 'Later, in jail, an FBI interrogator told him he was considered the director of Northern California AIM.)

Welsh was preparing to teach a Native American Studies course at San Francisco State when he went south to Parker for the winter holidays. He never taught that course.

Welsh has been granted a second trial on technical grounds. Judge Slaughter had neglected to instruct the jury that the defendant could be convicted of a lesser charge: unlawful possession of explosives.

Welsh and Jeff Kupers, his legal adviser, intend to use the new trial to document FBI persecution of American Indian Movement activists.

A day before Sid's arrest, a bomb threat was called into BIA police in Parker, Arizona, not far from Indio. Sid is from Parker. A bomb was found at the Parker BIA building. The FBI alleged (but didn't substantiate) that Sid's fingerprints were found on the paper bag containing the bomb. However, the FBI failed to investigate either foot or tire prints near the bomb area, nor did they explain two other bomb threats made after Sid was arrested. They also failed to respond to the discovery of 200 sticks of dynamite found in the hills outside of Parker at the same time. "Evidence" from all this was introduced into the case, although it bore no relation to the actual charges.

On January 27, 1976, Welsh was registered at a Parker motel in preparation for a preliminary hearing the following day. In Phoenix, 170 miles away, an attempt was made to bomb the US Public Health Service building. When Welsh appeared in court, Judge Claude Brown revoked bail. Bond was reset at $50,000, an insinuation that Welsh was somehow connected to the bombing attempt. Welsh spent two months in jail until a reasonable bail was set and the money raised.

In early 1977, two non-Indian men were arrested for the attempted bombing of the PHS building in Phoenix. These men have also been implicated in the bombing death of Arizona journalist Don Bolles. Bolles

was investigating involvement of organized crime and politicians such as Sen. Barry Godlwater in large money-making ventures, particularly land deals, at the time of his murder. Although all the information is not yet clear, many of these schemes allegedly involved Indian land. Whether or not these underworld/political connections are behind these bombings, it is clear that there is a concerted effort to connect Sid Welsh to whatever foul play could be found.

The Sid Welsh Defense Committee has sent out an urgent plea for financial support. Checks should be made payable to the Native American Defense Fund and sent to:

Sid Welsh Defense Committee
c/o Native American Defense Fund
225 Valencia Street
San Francisco, Ca. 94110

(Sid Welsh material adapted from an article by Steve Most which appeared in In These Times.)

Dirty Trick Three: Peltier

WINNEPEG (CUP) The FBI used false evidence to convince Canadian courts to extradite American Indian Movement activist Loenard Peltier, according to Peltier's lawyer Elliot Taikeff. In a speech to delegates at the federal National Democratic Party convention, Taikeff said Peltier was extradited on the basis of an affadavit that was later repudiated by the woman who had made it and proved completely false.

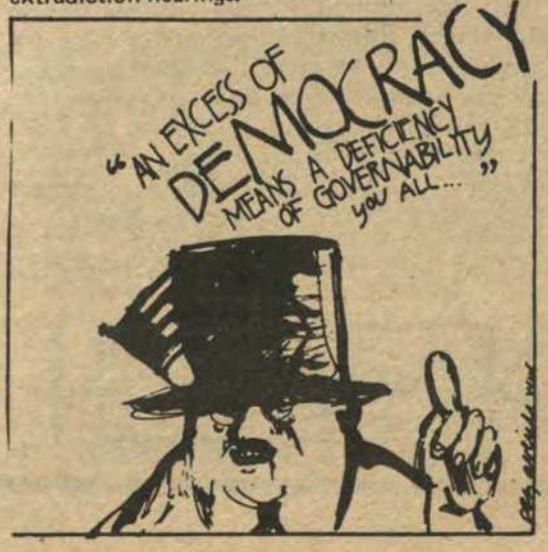
Peltier was accused of murdering two FBI agents at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation on June 26, 1975. Earlier this year, he was convicted, and is now serving tow concurrent life terms. The sentence is being appealed. The FBI was desperate to convict someone for the murders, Taikeff said, preferably an AIM activist in order to discredit the American Indian Movement.

Four AIM members were indicted. Two were tried and acquitted; the case against the third was dismissed. The fourth was Peltier who had fled to Canada. To extradite him, Taikeff said, the FBI coerced a woman named Myrtle Poor Bear to sign an affidavit saying she had heard Peltier discuss killing the FBI agents before the June 26 killings. The affidavit also said she had been Peltier's girlfriend, but had left the area before June 26 and had not witnessed the murders.

However, the courts did not consider this sufficient grounds to extradite Peltier. Thus, four days later, a new affadavit was submitted. In it, Poor Bear said she was in the area on June 26 and had seen Peltier shoot the agents. That was enough to have Peltier extradited.

Poor Bear's affadavits were never used at the trial, Taikeff said. In fact, she repudiated them there, saying she had never met Peltier, was never his girlfriend, never saw him shoot the two agents, and was sixty to seventy-five miles away at the time. She said she had been coerced by FBI agents to sign the affadivits while cooperating with them in another investigation, Taikeff said.

Poor Bear was subsequently threatened by the FBI, Taikeff said, but her repudiation was never denied or repudiated by the U.S. government. Despite the possibility that Peltier was extradited on the basis of false evience, Canadian courts cannot now ask for Peltier to be returned because they are not responsible for determining the validity of evidence produced in extradiction hearings.



OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress, accompanied by 200 striking photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Peter Lemon in the *Los Angeles Free Press* says: "A record of anger and courage, of pride and humanity, to be read with compassion and shame – and feelings of the heart for the greatness which broods upon the Sioux Reservation." 282 large-sized pages, $4.95.

Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, taut as a bowstring.

Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally." $1.75.

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie. "He is an explorer with an open and unique perspective. If you remember the search to find your own hill, or valley, or garret (Karoniaktatie calls it 'a place/to plant my seeds') – or if you're still looking – this collection could add some insights and fresh directions to your journey. 'in time you'll wonder/in time you shall/travel/in time you will/cease . . .' The approach here binds two cultures – it is an interesting marriage, enhanced by Karoniaktatie's striking designs and illustrations." Nancy Lenau, in *Pocket Poetry*, August, 1976. 88 pages. $2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in November, 1972, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most comprehensive platform of "What do the Indians want" available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to that, are essential dialogue for the decade ahead. $1.95

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The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00

Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador. *66 pp. $2.00, paperback. Published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Edited by John Brandi, with translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick.*

This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for *us* to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned; they begin to decipher what has been passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask. . . And during these instances is when I feel almost blessed to be here." With photographs and poetry.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old – and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound. Illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.25

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A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.

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A short booklet explaining what happened to the Natural World here in North America from the native viewpoint – and what needs to happen now. Pictographic writing and text. For children and schools, 15 cents.

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where can they run ?

THE MIGRATION OF 30,000 WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN FAMILIES TO BOLIVIA NOT ONLY POINTS TO AN ACCELERATED REPRESSION OF INDIGENOUS BOLIVIANS, IT ALSO FOCUSES THE TIGHTENING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLER REGIMES AND THEIR SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS.

The Bolivian Chief of State, General Hugo Banzer calls it a "special measure to improve the race."

Native Bolivians call it "a disgrace" and an "example of the most obvious racism."

They are talking about the proposed migration of 150,000 white South African colonials to the,Northeast region of Bolivia.

The South Africans, of Dutch and German origins, are preparing to leave Rhodesia, Nambia, and the Republic of South Africa because of the intensified Black Liberation struggles in those countries.

The idea of the migration originated at a secret meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration (ICEM), a United Nations offshoot, organied in Costa Rica and which was attended by representatives from the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay and,Venezuela.

General Banzer, whose name, critics constantly point out, reveals his Germanic origins, immediately siezed upon the idea, and Bolivia became the first government to accept the migration plan.

The measure was given immediate financial backing by West Germany, with a grant of $150,000,000. It was West Germany too who had called the ICEM meeting—though it also turned down immediately offers from the South Africans to migrate to that country.

Later, a combined grant from the United States, Britain,Holland and France made it likely that close to 2 billion more dollars would be made available.

The migration, scheduled to begin this year with 5,000 families, under the name of Rurrenbaque Colonization Project, or Rhodesian Plan, is part of a larger drive by the Bolivian government to develop the Northeast region. This region, including the Department of the Beni, is considered by experts to be enormously rich in natural resources, particularly phosphate and precious metals.

The governments' plan which calls for a "focal point of development" in the region, will ostensibly be greatly enhanced by the South African immigrants who will bring with them capital, technical skills, machinery and even small industry.

But that is not all they will bring with them.

The 150,000 immigrants will represent 3 per cent of the Bolivian population and number approximately 60,000 men of arm-bearing age—men, critics charge, well-trained in the ideological and physical repression of native South African Peoples.

The 150,000 immigrants are precisely those who would have the most to lose from the toppling of the white-supremacist regimes of Southern Africa, the critics say, and thus are particularly well-trained, ideologically and physically for the enforcement of aparthied racist policies.

In a widely circulated statement condemming the measure, the Amaut'as Council (MINK'A), one of the largest native Bolivian organiations, called the migration "a disgrace" and joined the other critics in calling for a "facilitated return" of the many thousands of native Bolivian families who had previously migrated due to economic conditions.

Many critics of the measure point to the many Bolivian families now residing in the United States, Europe and neighboring countries as a way of discarding the claims by the Bolivian regime of under-population in the target area as a major reason for the migration.

The MINK'A statement also points to the millions of dispossesed native families which now over-crowd the valleys and highlands of that country, and wonders what ever happened to a previous plan presented to the government to help these families migrate to the Beni.

"If Bolivia has such extensive territory now under-populated," it adds, "to what do we owe the intensified birth-control programs mapped out and supported financially by the United States?"

For the Bolivian regime, however, the migration of the white South Africans represents an attempt to secure its position as a European supremacist government imposed on a population which is 70 per cent indigenous.

No one attempts to hide the fact that the 25,000 native Bolivians in the region in question, as well as later migrations from other over-crowded parts of the country will provide an ample menial labor force for these industrious, technically and financially well-heeled South Africans.

All of the evidence points to a clear, direct policy on the part of General Banzer's government that considers the indigenous population of inferior quality to its goals and thus seeks to "improve the race" and its own position with this plan.

The Bolivian ambassador to Mexico, speaking to journalists said: " Five hundred years ago to North America cane 1,500 families and North America is now the first country in the world. Now we aspire also, that with these 30,000 families, in another five hundred years, we will be a good nation."

The argument for the migration was made by many South American newspapers. In Paraguay, one columnist cited the recently developed power projects in that country and the now-guaranteed "public peace" as setting the stage for real economic advancement. What the country needed now, he argued, was some "good" people.

Paraguay's President-for-life, General Alfredo Stroessner, followed close behind the Bolivian President in stating he would also welcome the South African immigrants "with open arms."

In Paraguay, the process by which Native populations have been destroyed or banished from their lands, even more than in Bolivia, follows a clear historical path.

The last forty years there have seen a determined genocidal policy on the part of the government to exterminate the Indians and settle mestizo or ladino populations in their place. Now, native people charge, the time has come for these so-called ignorant peasant populations to be shunted aside for the more coveted, white, technically superior Rhodesians.

"It isn't a coincidence," charges the Mexican journalist Marcelo Quiroga, "and on the contrary it only shows its symbolic character that the last name of the Bolivian functionary—Strauss—who will administer the Plan Rhodesia, as well as the name of the president of the government he serves—Banzer—should be of obviously Germanic descendancy.

"Nor is it coincidental the ancestral and ideological ties that he enjoys with his colleagues—Giezel and Stroessner—who from the presidencies, respectively of Brazil and Paraguay implement similar policies."

What Quiroga is hinting at, and what many critics of the proposed migration point out is that it is only one of several moves in the larger context of closer relations between the South African white supremacist regimes and their South American counterparts.

Paraguay, for instance, was instrumental in aiding the Pretoria regime break out of the diplomatic isolation which it had faced in recent years when its dictator-for-life, General Alfredo Stroessner visited there in early 1974. In the face of withdrawing U.S. support behind a policy of upholding Human Rights, critics charge the South African and South American governments are tightening relations, attempting to provide each other with support in their mutual interests.

Improved diplomatic and economic relations, as well as new military agreements mark the strengthening ties between the "Cono Sur" (Southern Cones) regimes of the African and American continents.

Critics point to the OTAS (Treatiese Organiation of the South Atlantic) negotiations which would cement an alliance among Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Chile with South Africa to "impede the Soviet fleet from mastery over the South Atlantic."

The constant editorials of praise for the Southern African regimes to be found in the government controlled press of these South American regimes, and the increased number of governmental delegations passing between them are also cited by commentators as evidence of tightening relations.

A South American journalist, Miguel Cabezas, writing from the African continent, makes the case most clearly. One editorial in a South African newspaper predicted that these exchanges could "help the position of the South African government in the international forums and organiations." It continued: "It is evident that the neighbors of Paraguay have taken a growing interest in the visit of Mr. Vorster, and it woul suggest that several other countries of that region would be seriously interested in examining the possibilities of extending their relations with South Africa.

The surgence of OTAS reappeared strongly for the first time in April of last year when the outbound Naval Commander to the South Atlantic, of the United States, Admiral George Ellis, and his replacement, Admiral James Sagerholm, visited Buenos Aires to continue conversations with the Argentine authorities. They were accompanied by the Admiral Geraldo Azevado Henning, Minister of the Brazilian Navy. The meeting was followed by a report about the threat that the new govenment of Angola posed (represented by President Dr. Agostino Neto) by offering naval and military bases to the Soviet Naval forces. South Africa has manifested in various opportunities an extreme anxiety towards the "security of the Cape Route."

(Continued next page)

ENERGY:
THE POLITICAL ISSUE OF OUR TIME
CANADA

The Yukon has always been known for booms and busts—in gold, furs, mining.

Yukon businessmen favor the proposed pipeline which would carry oil from Alaska to the U.S. and Canada, hoping it will stimulate a more stable economic development of the territory.

Indians are opposed to the pipeline.

"We are not willing to abandon our chances for a just land claims settlement to get Americans out of trouble they have created themselves," said Daniel Johnson, president of the Council for Yukon Indians (CYI), an organization committed to applying Indian values to the land.

"We don't need gas. We burn wood. It would damage the land. The (Alaska) highway brought us only sorrow," said a young Indian from Pelly Crossing.

Developments like the pipeline can radically prejudice the final outcome on land claims settlement in the territory and no one is sure what it could do to the environment.

Both the U.S. and Canadian governments need a route that would move the Alaskan oil deposits south to their oil-hungry nations. Recently Carter and Trudeau shook hands in Washington over a pipeline agreement. Energy is THE political issue of our times.

The Canadian government established a one-man commission to study the environmental and social impact of a pipeline through the Northwest Territories (NWT). Justice Thomas Berger of the B.C. Supreme Court, "Canada's leading authority" on native land rights, rejected the link through NWT on environmental grounds and called for a 10-year moratorium until the Native land claims are settled.

His report carried enough weight to send the governments in search of an alternate route.

ALCan Corporation, a late bidder prevailed with a Yukon route.

The Canadian government established a three-person board, headed by Kenneth Lysyk, dean of law at the University of B.C. They heard testimony from community people in town halls, schools, etc. as they travelled around the Yukon into places that would be touched by the pipeline.

Both white and Indian people called the Lysyk inquiry a farce for attempting to do in 90 days what Berger took 3 years to do. Lysyk isn't proving to be nearly as influential as Berger.

The Inquiry concluded that natives should have a choice of a wage economy or a bush life coupled with welfare (necessary because a good trapper makes only $1,000 a year). The inquiry also recommended a 2 year delay on building.

Leaders of Yukon Indian organizations began their resistance.

CYI called federal support of a pipeline through Yukon Territory "cultural-genocide warfare," and began court action in conjunction with the Yukon Conservation Society against the National Energy Board (NEB). This court action is the only legal obstacle remaining to prevent the building of the Alaska Highway pipeline through the territory.

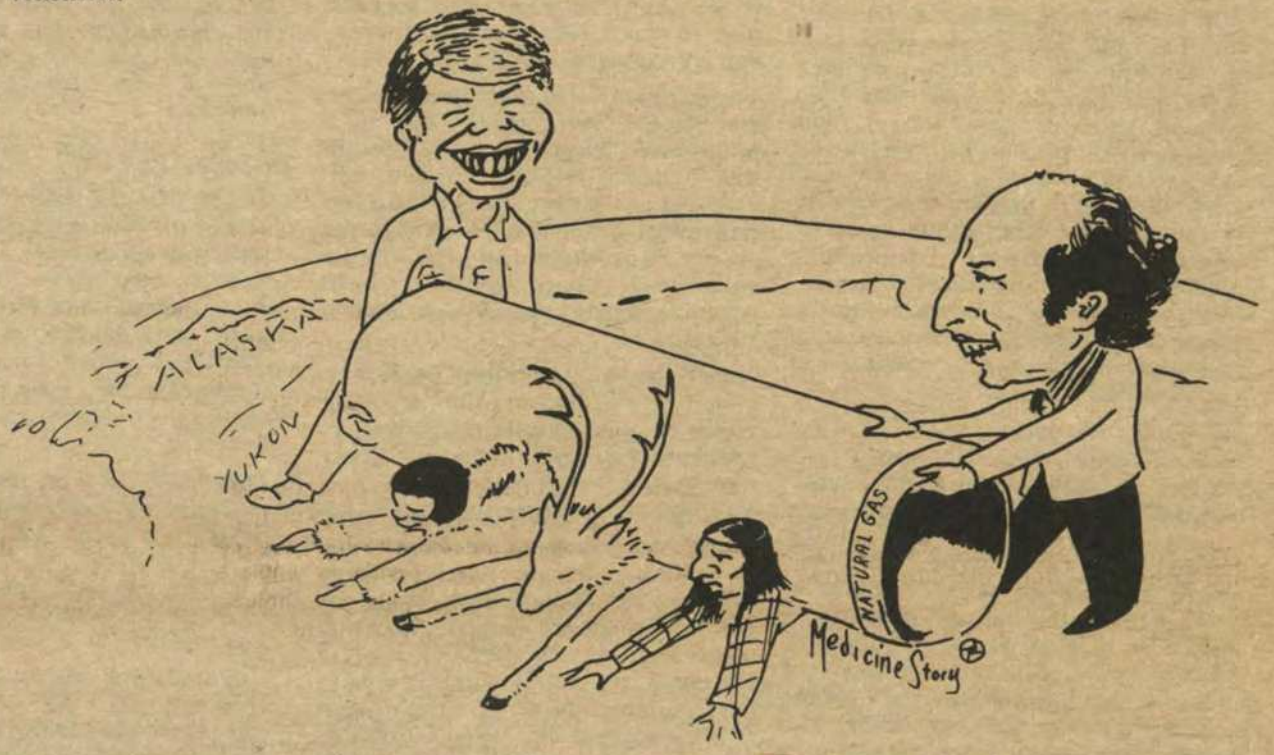
Yukon Indian leaders have rejected the suggestion contained in the Lysyk report that a $50 million advance be given Native organizations to ensure sufficient funding is available to settle land claims prior to pipeline construction. Some call it a bribe. A payoff. A trick. The pipeline puts added pressure for an early land claims settlement which might lead to hasty decisions.

Meanwhile, the Federal Government of Canada and the Government of the Yukon signed a "General Development Agreement" August 17 designed to provide a coordinated approach to social and economic development in Yukon.

Unlike NWT, Native people are a minority in Yukon.

In Whitehorse, the Yukon capital, the average price of raw, industrially zoned land has risen 25 per cent in the last 3 months. Some parcels have soared as high as 40 per cent as the prospect of a pipeline in this territory increases.

thanks to Native Press, The Oregonian, Yukon Indian News, The Globe and Mail.



It's nice when we can cooperate and help *everybody*, Pierre!

(Continued from page 24)

Certainly, it is established that between 1974 and 1975, diplomatic relations were established with Nicaragua, Paraguay and Bolivia and South Africa. South Africa has opened an Embassy in Santiago, Chile and has sent a business representative to Uruguay. Their diplomatic relations with Brazil get better, and it has been determined that their Legation would rise to the status of Embassy. Formal ties with Argentina and other Latin American countries already exist. Mexico, however, closed their consulate office in Cape Town immediately after the United Nations resolutions sanctioned the Government of Pretoria.

In 1975 Dr. Hilgard Muller—then Minister of Foreign Relations of South Africa—explained to the Parliament in Cape Town that the Latin American countries "play an important role in the United Nations," where South Africa was suffering a growing oppression. In turn, he punctualized that Latin America has an enormous economic potential.

They (Latin America) are our neighbors on the other side of the Atlantic," he added. Since that moment there have been strong efforts by the government of Pretoria to establish economic ties with the Latin American continent. For example, P.G.J. Koornhof, Minister of Mine Operations has visited El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Brazil with the intent of maintaining discussions with the mining sector of these countrie . On his return he informed "Happily, all these exchanges and ties of friendship can be extensively successful."

His trip was followed by a mission directed by B.G. Fourie, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and included the secretaries of Commerce, Finance and Industry and the president of the Bureau of Commerce visiting all of Uruguay and Paraguay.

Last December a South African newspaper reported that the South African enterprises were moving to Latin America to compensate for the depressed local market. In February of this year, the Managing Director of a South African company, already established in Latin America, returned to explain that the continent has "similar socio/economic structures, as well as a high rate of illiteracy."

Speculations are growing around the formation of OTAS to counterarrest the increase in Soviet maritime activity in that area. These were revived when the Vice Admiral James Johnson, Chief of the Navy of War of South Africa appeared during the annual maneuvers together with the State Navy of America and Latin America last September.

His presence in the Argentine Capital and his visit to the Puerto Belgrano Naval Base—due to an invitation from the Commander in Chief of the Argentine Navy—coincided with the development of "Operation UNITAS" in the South Atlantic. At this time, United States warships with their base in Puerto Rico executed drills together with ships from Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia and Uruguay.

In August 1975, Mr. John Vorster, the Prime Minister of the racist South African government returned the visit to the Paraguay government, continuing on to Uruguay. In an interview with the Uruguayan press he stated, "We are the same class of people...we can easily adapt one to the other."

Some critics find it appropriate that Mr. Strauss Ivanonic, the Bolivian Subsecretary of the Interior and the man in charge of the complex migration is a leading militant of the Falangist Party of Bolivia, a self-avowed fascist organization.

"How much more evidence do we need?" asks a Peruvian journalist, "to foresee where our continent is heading."

For the native people of Bolivia, however, the uestion of who is responsible for their misery and oppression is not any longer necessary.

the MINK'A statement: "In the more than 300 years of colony and in 150 years of the Republic—or, that is, in the more than 500 years of exploitation and thievery, racism and genocide, the Spaniards and their imitators have assumed responsibility for the shameful backwardness of our country and now, to hide their total incapacity, this 'dominant class' which is so proud of its white and Spanish descendancy, now cynically gives itself another four or five hundred years in which, with the influx of these new 150,000 Anglo-Germans, we will be fully realized.

"Let us be conscious that as Bolivian Indians and as Mestizos, we are more civilized than these white South Africans and that no one is more "specialized" in our own problems—that we are above these under-developed mentalities who are only looking to see where they can run now that the Blacks are achieving their freedom."

TIME OF THE TICUNA

[This essay is by David Dunaway, a journalist who has written for a wide variety of magazines over the past five years, including a recent volume of poems, Jungle Sea. *This story was forwarded to us by the folksinger/activist Pete Seeger. We are grateful to each of them for this commentary.]*

From the misty rainforests on the slopes of the Equatorial Andes to the brown watery, eight-mile-wide mouth, the Amazon river churns its course. Where fifty years ago, monthly freighters travelled the great stream, ships now pass daily. Tiny vest-pocket airports are peeling back the protective cover. The Twentieth Century has made inroads along the banks of the river which explorers of the past century – and the native people – could not have foreseen.

The Ticuna still are there, a microcosm of the tropical river culture that stretches the width of the continent. But their culture has not only been changed, it has fallen. : the Ticuna now share their river with the drum-beating revivalism of the missionaries, the avariciousness of the traders hovering like flies over the few remaining Ticuna artifacts, the greed of the animal hunters who daily strip the jungle of its natural riches, and the sordid exoticism of the tourists, who pay to see "re-created" Indian villages.

Small wonder, then, that the harried Ticuna believe in a vast inundation that will wipe out all traces of the white man. They tell of Joaquim Nonato, called Nora'ne in Xeware, the language of the Ticuna, who thirty years ago led his people back into the jungle highlands to await the Great Flood.

The effects of the invasion are reflected in the Ticunas life now. They wear clothes and cook with tin pots, battered with age. For sixty years, they have hunted with shotguns, leaving their blowguns for ceremony. These people of brownish-black skin, rarely over five-feet tall, had a reputation for hospitality recorded by the great English naturalist Henry Bates during the 19th Century. With the coming of the traders a generation ago, however, rum and rifles became popular among the Ticuna, leaving them with a reknown for drunkenness and violence.

By modern standards, the Ticuna still lead a simple life. The men go off fishing in their carved canoes, black spade-shaped paddles swishing in the dawn. The women and most of the children work the yucca fields, then roast and grind this cactus-like vegetable into flour as the staple of jungle cookery. Their handicrafts are practical, rather than ornamental – baskets of river rushes, intricately-carved fishing spears. At dusk, the men return, eat, sleep. Their ghostly mosquito nets – an absolute necessity in the tropics where animals are eaten alive by insects – glow in the moonlight through their open-walled houses.

Like many of the peoples along the upper Amazon basin, the Ticuna have today forgotten how to hunt. Much of their native game is gone, prey to the ruthless commercial trade in animal skins. The Ticuna, formerly noted for their use of the hunting poison, curare, have not used it for half-a-century. With the intrusions, their culture has been eroded, leaving them with age-old traditions and beliefs unfitted to the situation in which they find themselves.

In a clearing alongside one Ticuna village, the missionaries have built a church. Painted a robin's-egg blue, the one-room wooden structure stands out against the many shades of green surrounding it. A painstakingly-lettered sign, SANTA ROSA BAPTIST CHURCH, is obscured by a group of Ticuna crowding up the stairs in the heat of a clear, cloudless morning. Alongside the neatly-arranged unstained wooden pews stand stacks of hymnals. They look new, with covers of smiling Indian children "jungle happy with Our Lord." The women wear knee-length dresses, their hair freshly set in the fashion of the '50s, wearing necklaces made from monkey teeth.

The current wave of missionaries first appeared in great numbers along the Amazon in the 1940s. Nearby tribes date many changes from this period, which was the time of Nora'ne's prophecies. The Servants of the Lord brought inducements for the native people – free health care, technology for increased crops, and formal education. With these, they attracted Ticuna from many outlying areas.

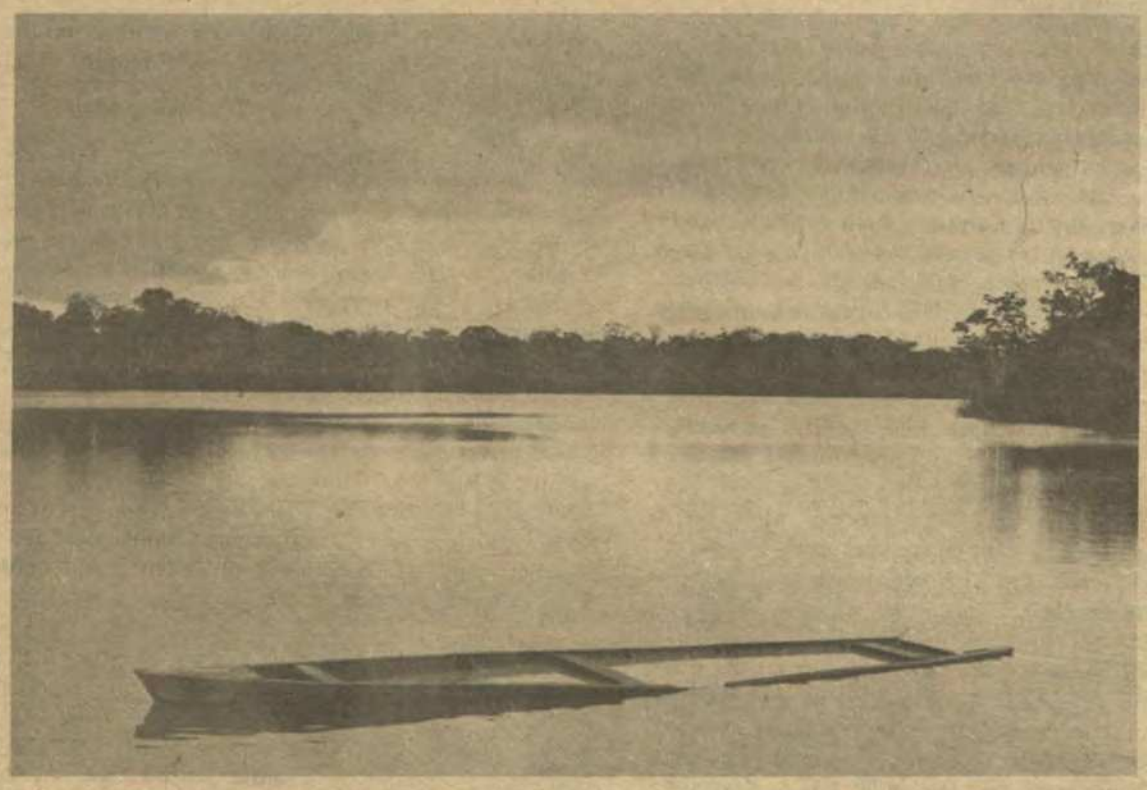
Gradually, they brought their order to the natives' lives. First, they built a church. Then a school. The Bible, translated into Xeware, was the text and the Old Testament tales were the primers. They sent away the brightest and most pious children to receive a special Christian education suited to the next leaders of their tribes.

The Old Ways were prohibited, the Old Ways died. Ticuna were shown how to trim the unruly jungle grasses into near rectangular lawns. Christian marriage in proper church attire was introduced and older customs such as drinking, smoking, and polygamy were banned.

These carefully-groomed missionaries, blond-haired and pale, the hint of a midwestern twang in their voices, are ever vigilant. Handicrafts are discouraged as "pagan", except for a few settlements where they are sold in the missionaries' own trading posts. Once a year, they return to their North American parishioners with fund-raising slide shows.

Nora'ne and his six brothers live in such a settlement. Faced with this well-organized program to run their lives, his people have adopted it passively – they have become Christians.

It is a law of the jungle that most animals and plants live interdependently. Fish have parasites in their stomachs who take part of the fish's food, but aid the fish's digestion. Certain specialized plants need certain insects in order to reproduce themselves. Some travellers have suggested the missionaries exist in their colonies in like fashion, exchanging the trappings of civilization for their private fiefdoms.



The missionaries have not been so successful with other tribes. Along the Peruvian border, the neighbors of the Ticuna, the Mayaruna, have resisted all efforts by the army and the church to civilize them. They live in the interior of the jungle forests, appearing on the banks of the river to loot an occasional cargo ship, or to attack the nearby hydroelectric plant.

An American missionary, Harriet Fields, found a young Mayaruna whom she named "Joe" wandering in the jungle. She took him back to the mission and educated him in the Christian fashion, making him teach her his language. After a number of years, Joe ran off to his people – the missionaries assert he is converting the tribe.

Ms. Field was not content to stop there. With the aid of the U.S. Army, which maintains a base nearby in Manaus, Brazil, for the missionaries, she arranged to be flown low over the jungle in a helicopter. Equipped with a bullhorn, Fields broadcasted to the Indians in the language she had learned from "Joe": "Go downstream. The servants of the Lord await you. Go downstream. The Word of God is to be found at the riverbank!"

If the missionaries hunger after the Ticuna's souls, the trader just wants trinkets. To the trader, the native settlers of the Amazon are simply a source of tourist goods and animals. For the monkeys they sell at $45 each in the U.S., they pay the Ticuna $2. For a trader, the notion that the native people have a rich culture is not so real as the notion that they have probably salted away some of the heritage he calls "curios".

They travel along the river in motorized canoes, a race of traders pollinating native towns with tin cans and bonbons. For about two pounds of salt, they get three giant tortoise shells. Two packs of fifty-cents-a-carton cigarettes gets a carved fishing spear.

One small missionary village, Belem, is known for its masks of "bloodwood" and human hair. "I'm sorry if you came for the masks," said a young Ticuna in blue jeans to a docking trader. "We sold them all on Saturday to an Englishman on the steamer from Manaus. He paid us twice what you do," he said with a grin.

At these words, the slight Brazilian trader snapped off the ignition in obvious irritation. "I'll find some," he said, picking up his sack of cheap stale cigarettes and hard candies. He wandered through the village, alone on the streets in the hot equatorial sun. He stopped in front of a one-room adobe house, the walls washed with lime and roofed with thatched palm fronds. A fresh tortoise shell rested against the front, its former owner roasting nearby. "No masks?" the trader demanded with a barely-concealed contempt. "What do you people do here all day? You work one day a week and lie around the rest." His lecture went unheeded by the old woman bending away from the sun and slowly grinding her yucca to flour.

Furious, he stormed off. Back and forth he paced, past the rows of quiet houses with their overhanging roofs like mushrooms in a cow pasture. "Masks – I want masks! I have Marlboro cigarettes here. Sweets for the children, smokes for you. Today, I'm taking fishing spears . . ." he shouted in vain at the houses shuttered in the midday heat.

Mike Tsalikas, this man's boss, usually has better luck. He has some 400 traders looking for animals and organizing his tourist attractions. As recently as thirty years ago, monkeys and Caymans, a species of Amazon alligator, were common to most every lagoon and tributary. Now they are rarely seen. The traffic in live animals and skins is both lucrative and controversial. Tsalikas, the largest trader in the Leticia region, claims he ships animals only for medical research. Despite his claims, he has been called "the exterminating angel of the jungle" by a prominent Colombian paper.

Pressure from the Sierra Club and envirionmental groups within Colombia about the disappearing animal populations have forced Tsalikas to lease a special island for raising moneys. The effects of this depletion are clear: after a millennia of hunting, the Ticuna must learn to fish.

Today, the Ticuna have a new threat – tourists. Visitors not only want artifacts, they want to watch over the Indian's shoulders while they work. When the Ticuna refused to allow this, the resourceful Tsalikas joined his animal trade and tourist business. He arranged for a tribe of Yagua to move downriver to a specially-designed "authentic" village on his monkey island.

"We used to take the tourists out to see the Yagua in boats," Tsalikas began with a smile. "But it cost a lot of money – gas is expensive here. And sometimes they would have all gone hunting – boy those tourists would get MAD. Now that they're on my island, we can find 'em when we need 'em for a ceremony or something."

The Ticuna have always been more independent than this. According to the anthropologist Kurt Nimendaju, author of the sole volume on the Ticuna, this independence is inspired by their understanding of the Creator, known as Dyai, and called Tanati, "our father". Dyai is said to live in the uplands of the jungle, and to have given the day, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants to the Ticuna. He also protects them from the demons who come to suck the insides of men and animals, leaving only their skins behind. Throughout Ticuna history, he

has appeared to children approaching adulthood, offering them messages in puzzle form.

One such message came to Nora'ne. "I glided in my canoe to the mouth of the Black River, where the jumping fish live. But just as I raised my spear, the water exploded, sending a shower of water straight up, like a fountain. All the fish disappeared, leaving behind a group of animals – no, not animals, but with the skin of animals wrapped around them like masks. I thought they were demons. All kinds of fish and small animals danced in front of me, on the surface of the water, but not touching it. I wondered at this.

– Dave Dunaway photo
Tanah Nonato, Nora'ne's brother

"Later that day, I cannoed back up river. There I saw a large orange fish. Looking closer, I saw it was a stream of tiny fish, different shades of red and yellow. They swam so close together, they changed first into a long fish, then a giant snake, and finally into an eel, the one that throws electricity. The eel was so long he wrapped twice around the canoe, with a tail besides. I paddled as fast as I could back home and never returned."

Soon after this episode, other members of the Ticuna began to have visions. One boy dreamed that Nora'ne had turned into an old man who would lead the people. Another man, well respected and recently returned from a trip up river, said he had met other Ticuna there who believed that a vast flood – a periodic phenomenon on the upper Amazon – was coming. The people wondered out loud. Was this the Great Flood talked about in their grandfather's time?

At nightfall, only one fire burned in the village. By each house the wood was set, but no dinner cooked. The men were gathered at the ceremonial house, still wearing their leather fishing vests and carrying spears, tired from the day's work. They listened in silence to the words of a young boy, his ready adolescent voice sing-songy in the growing dusk.

"Yesterday Tanah told you and today I tell you – there is no mistake. In a fortnight, the river will rise. Before long our homes will be covered. Our animals will be killed. It is a time for sorrow. But this is the word of our father, Dyai, who appeared to me as a yellow tiger in the clearing by the forest. The white man's time is past. Those that have broken the old ways shall be punished. The time of the Ticuna is now.

"We must prepare a giant moluca, a house for all in the uplands. There we will be safe from the water. We will live in service to our ancestors. When the water comes, it will wash away the cities of the white man – we will survive.

"Listen then – the journey is long and we must prepare now. It is eight days by canoe and two by foot. All must go, up river and down, back to the land of our fathers."

Nora'ne stared in silence at his people, looking out over them into the black sky.

News travelled quickly up the Black River and down, even across to the other bank of the Amazon. Ticuna came from far to the west, past Leticia. There was no time for opposing sects to form, or for further deliberations. There were stores of flour to be roasted and fish to salt. Long thin canoes were built, big enough for ten men and their families. Black spade-tipped paddles were carved and the canoe bows oiled with roots.

The survivors say six hundred families started the trip. Some fled in the first days of rain, hastening to their boats without provisions or clothes. The more careful eyed the river as it began to rise, knowing that the great swells would come from far upstream in the rain forests. Two weeks would be plenty of time to prepare.

For the eight hundred who survived, it was not an easy voyage. Parts of the river were wide enough for only one boat at a time. Some found that their hastily-constructed canoes, floating level with the water with all their piled goods, could not pass the narrows.

Black spades, white water. While the Amazon rose upstream, the summer heat beat upon the shallow tributaries, twisting them like brown-black serpents through the green watery forests. The insects, the true rulers of the jungle, were everywhere. Flies and mosquitoes rose from quiet pools in great clouds at dusk, so thick the women ducked their heads to the keel. Two children died from their stings. After each day's rain, the insects increased.

It had been many years since the Ticuna had come up this river. Now the leaders weren't sure which overgrown stream, which faded path to follow.

There were few elders to guide them. They had been taken away in the big Brazilian Army boats to fight a border war with Paraguay, a thousand miles to the south, and they had not returned.

More trouble. Nora'ne, formerly everywhere, unloading boats to be carried overland, repairing broken spears, and supervising cooking, was nowhere to be found. They were travelling day and night, through ever-increasing rain. Nora'ne's elder brother, 17, started directing the crowds of boats, steering back and forth in his own one-man canoe. Everywhere was the buzz of mosquitoes and the wail of babies stung beyond a mother's comfort.

Rowing upstream they made the voyage in a week, despite the rain and confusion. With the overland trip, they were not so fortunate: they followed one path for three days, the whole tribe panting under the weight of their provisions, only to discover a sheer forty-foot cliff blocking their way.

When they finally reached their goal, as many had been left behind as had arrived. At last, climbing out into the broad grassy savannah, high in the hidden mountains of the jungle, they were too tired to do anything but fall on the ground in a wet malarial stupor.

Slowly they recovered. Toughened by the ordeal, the Ticuna began to hunt again. Each family remembered some of the Old Ways, a snatch of a ceremonial song, a fragment of a legend. Proud to have survived, stimulated by the tales of their ancestors on whose ground they stood, the Ticuna forgot their recent past: the probing anthropologists, the trading freighters hungry for skins and relics, and the clack of the tourists' cameras. Proud, too, of their coming salvation, they looked to their distant past to provide for their future.

Old ceremonies were held. Masks used to frighten off the underworld spirits were hung outside the ragged palm shelters. Work had begun on the Moluca. Eight hundred Ticuna, arm in arm, formed a giant circle to outline the foundations of a single house where they were all to live while the waters receded.

At first, the rains stopped. Everybody felt better. Then a few men, the skeptics, began to watch the Amazon, trying to chart its swollen heights. The river continued to grow, and then subsided, glistening in the distance like a silver whip. People began to ask questions, impatient for their triumphant return. The few older men who had finally learned to fish on the river were uncomfortable trying to hunt again. Nora'ne was sick, with an illness he contracted on the trip. He rarely spoke.

In the middle of the second month, he announced he had an ill-omened dream: the time of the Ticuna had been postponed, for someone had married outside the nation and Dyai was angry.

Discontent was spreading. People were saying that if Nora'ne wasn't actually crazy, he had been taking Yagé, the powdered psychedelic kept by Ticuna leaders for ceremonial occasions.

On the day the Brazilian chief of the region, Quirino Maffra, managed to find his way to the Indian camp, all hell broke loose – at the sight of a white man on the tierra alta, the children cried in fright, as if at a ghost. The men were called back from the forest. Nora'ne refused to come out of his tent. And the squirrel monkeys added to the general confusion by beginning to chatter.

Maffra, now a shy, grey-haired man of sixty-nine whose son is the present chief, remembers the scene:

"I came up onto that broad plateau, just dead tired, and there were all the Ticuna, living in little huts on the edge of a big cleared circle. A huge fire burned in the middle. When I finally heard what they were there for, from a boy I'd known all my life, I laughed fit to burst my sides. I told them there was no flood, to come back down to the river right away now, and stop all this foolishness."

And so the Ticuna returned to the river, to their little colony rich with the mysteries of transubstantiation and bottled pop.

Nora'ne moved 10 miles down the river to Santa Rita, where he lives to this day. He is a curiosity there, receiving visitors every decade who have come for the memories of his youth.

Today, not much can be done for the Ticuna short of leaving them in peace, a protection the current Brazilian regime is not likely to provide. In fact, they have in store for them the completion of the trans-Brazilian highway, boldly being hacked out of the jungle.

At this point, the Ticuna has more of his past to forget than to remember. The last generation was lost in the war. The generation before that was unfortunate enough to have lived during the great Amazon rubber boom, when companies based in Brazil enslaved whole nations to cultivate their plantations. Not only were the native people forced to tap the rubber on pain of death, but their young children were taken to form a special internal police force. Pictures remain of the eight-year-olds in rows at target practice, staring straight ahead in their little white military uniforms.

The response of the Ticuna cannot be considered strange, given their options. An armed rebellion would have been unthinkable. The Ticuna's resistance was inarticulated, passive. In the visions of Nora'ne, the careful reader will have seen a turning away from fact, even from the physical laws of the universe. In place of secular struggle, Nora'ne fought in the plane of animal spirits, shamanism, the world that he knew best.

But the Ticuna's story is not over, and even now a prophet is among them. This new seer, a renegade Brazilian priest, embodies both the Christian and the old Indian ways. Jose San Francisco de Cruz, in flowing white robes and a long beard, today travels the little tributaries of the upper Amazon, holding curing ceremonies with shavings from the giant red wooden crosses he carries with him in his boat.

In the town where Nora'ne lives, they hold an annual celebration of his coming, which Nora'ne no doubt attends. Needless to say, San Francisco de Cruz is heartily unwelcome to the established missionaries. His success is no doubt due to the fact that, like Nora'ne, he offers the Ticuna a peaceful salvation from the daily humiliations they must live with.

Life taken from the Ticuna cannot be returned – the ceremonies of all the mystics will not bring back the tigers whose skins adorn split-level homes in suburban Miami.

"Looking back on it all, I must have been a little crazy," continued Nora'ne. No one could understand what the missionaries wanted. The old people were gone, and only a few of us remembered the past.

"And now – well, I guess there are even fewer."

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[Nora'ne is a living prophet of the Ticuna. This is one of the stories he relates.]

When I was a boy, I lived on the Black Mountain at the foot of the mountain. That is where I grew up and where I hunted, high in the cliffs of the jungle. One night, when I was thirteen, I went hunting by myself, away from my family. As I climbed the mountain, the animals I met on the trail acted strangely. Cobras, birds, even jaguars came from all around and rubbed against me. I was scared, but decided to keep on walking. In a clearing in the forest, I met a giant wild pig, half the size of a house. He didn't attack just then – he stopped there in the moonlight, looking down at me, and lumbered off into the forest.

The next day, I went hunting again, in a different spot. This time the wild pig appeared to me as soon as I set out. He had a breast of gold, brilliant and glowing with an internal light, beautiful in the still night air. I heard a noise above me. There, rustling through the bamboo, was a giant bat, five feet across. I was so scared. I fell on the ground. I thought it was an airplane. As soon as I thought it was safe, I went straight home, catching nothing that night.

After that, I didn't go hunting alone for a year, out of fear. I had told my people of these visions and my family couldn't decide whether I was bewitched or a prophet. When I finally went out hunting again, it was just after midnight, a dark moonless night.

As soon as I reached the top of the mountain, I heard a great noise off to my right. It sounded like clouds of rain had poured down all around me, but no rain fell. I came a little ways further, and heard the noise again, all around me.

I looked up and in the trees were hundreds of parrots beating their wings. Each glistened and gleamed like gold in the sun, in beautiful colors: red and orange and purple.

One day, not too long after seeing the parrots, I went fishing. By the side of the canoe I saw a giant snake. He was long and fat, as if he had just eaten a pig. The snake glowed faintly from the inside in bands, like a watch. I went home to tell my wife (for in those days it was not uncommon to have a wife at fourteen) but she didn't believe me. She said, 'Nora'ne, now you are telling lies.' So I said, 'Well, you come with me, and see for yourself.'

We went out on a small river. I was about to throw my spear into the water when it began to boil, but just near the canoe. Then the same giant snake appeared and swam toward us; we rowed home. After that, she believed me and told the village that I was a great man. People began to think of me as a wise man, and came to me for advice.

WATER RIGHTS
THE ISSUE AND THE COURTS

The following article is adapted and abridged from an article by Larry Anderson. Natural Resources, including water, are becoming increasingly important and prominent political, cultural, and legal issues, especially in the western states where water means the difference between arible land and desert. The following, a history of the court decisions affecting Native people and water, is presented in the interest of stimulating more public information about the background of the present water rights struggles. We are grateful to Mr. Anderson for the article. For the purposes of this article, the term "west" is intended to refer to the area of the United States which lies west of the Mississippi River.

Water is an issue which is of critical importance, even life-and-death importance, to an increasing number of people in North America. The courts of the United States have a tradition concerning water rights as they effect Native people, and the court decisions are many. But the essential issues are clear – Native people have a long-standing right to water (which in the desert areas is the same as a right to life,) and under the first-come, first-served rules for water established by the courts, the Native people possess, according to Court precedents, primary rights to enough water to ensure their survival. These rights, of course, are becoming increasingly controversial and political as Native people begin to move to utilize more of the water they are entitled to, and as the needs of the urban centers and industry intensify.

Indian water rights in the West are based primarily on the concept that when the federal government created the Indian reservations and when it added to them, it reserved not only the land but also the use of enough water to irrigate the irrigable portions of the reserved lands. This doctrine was first applied in 1908 in *Winters v. United States.* It was affirmed in *Arizona v. Calfironia* in 1963.

Most of the public land of the contiguous western states was obtained by the United states from other European powers through the exercise of its sovereign powers. The Louisiana Purchase (1803), the Oregon Compromise (1846), the Mexican Cession by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), the boundary settlement with Texas (1850), and the Gadsden Purchase (1853), are the principal examples. Under the treaty-making power, the United States has authority to acquire territory by purchase or otherwise. This power has been exercised by direct cession as the result of war and im making effectual terms of peace. Under the Constitution the power also extends to acquisition of territory by cession or conquest. In 1871, Congress announced that the United States Government would no longer make treaties with Indian nations. That action had no effect on the treaties already in force, but Congress and the courtes maintained thereafter that Indians and their lands were to be governed by acts of Congress. The sources of Indian land titles are not discussed here except to note that Indian lands are not "public lands" of the United states.

Within the large territorial acquisitions mentioned, the United States has assumed the power of a proprietor. Congress made grants of land and rights of way for railroads, canals, and other purposes while at the same time recognizing and confirming by statute (in 1866,) existing water rights and related rights established on the public domain under custom and local law. The United States also reserved large areas to the Indians.

The power of the United States to control the public lands and water rests in theory on the fact of proprietorship and sovereign status under the Constitution. The United States controls, reserves, or disposes of its lands in much the same way as any other proprietor. Article IV, section 3, clause 2 of the Constitution vests power in Congress "to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the ....property belonging to the United States."

Pursuant to this power, Congress has adopted a number of federal statutes permitting the appropriation of water for private use. These various federal statutes do not convey the federal government's proprietary rights to all the water on the public lands. They are more in the nature of an "offer" to the public, which would permit the waters to be appropriated by following state laws and local customs. Until the waters are appropriated, however, the ownership and legislative rights relating thereto continue in the United States. If the United States elects to withdraw the unappropriated waters on federal lands and set them aside for Indian use, there is no theoretical reason why it cannot do so. The withdrawal is not the initiation or creation of a water right by the Government, but rather it is a withdrawal of the federal "offer." It would have the effect of making the withdrawn water no longer open to public appropriation; it would set it apart for a particular federal purpose. Such is the basis of the holding in the *Winters* case and the line of cases which have followed or applied this doctrine.

THE WINTERS DOCTRINE

In *Winters v. United States,* the government brought suit to restrain Henry Winters, et al., from constructing or maintaining dams or reservoirs on the Milk River in the state of Montana. The Milk River is a non-navigable stream and is on the north boundary of the reservation. Large portions of the lands within the reservation were suitable for pasture and the feeding and grazing of livestock, although they required irrigation.

The defendants alleged that they had settled the open, public domain under the applicable land laws and that on July 5, 1888, "under the laws of the United States and the laws, decisions, rulings and customs of the state of Montana," had appropriated water from the Milk River. The Indian reservation involved in the dispute was a part of a large tract which had been set aside for the Indians by an Act of Congress in 1874. The Indians had relinquished part of these lands by an agreement dated May 1, 1888. The case turned on the question of whether the Indians had also released the water. The Supreme Court held that while there may be an implication that such was their intent, it was more reasonable to hold that they had not.

In *Skeen v. United States,* the government brought suit on behalf of the Indians of the Fort Hall Reservation to etermine their rights to the waters of Indian Creek for irrigation purposes. An 1868 treaty provided that any Indian on the reservation who wished to farm might select a tract of land, and that thereafter he could have the exclusive possession of the land for as long as he continued to cultivate it. In 1880, a second treaty directed the allotments of land to the heads of families.

In 1898, a treaty was made in which the Indians ceded to the U.S. a large body of land comprising the southern portion of the reservation. This treaty also provided that Indians occupying and cultivating land should not be removed from the ceded lands, but might retain them and receive the same by allotment. The Indians whose rights were asserted by the government in the *Skeen* suit had taken possession of the land involved in the suit some years prior to the treaty of 1898.

They elected to retain the lands and, accordingly, under the treaty, the lands were to be allotted to them prior to the opening of any settlement or entry by others. Article 8 of the treaty of 1898 provided "that water from streams on that portion of the reservation now sold, which is necessary for irrigating land actually cultivated and in use shall be reserved for the Indians now using the same, so long as said Indians remain where they now live."

The appellants argued that this article operated to limit the extent of the water rights of the Indians, that it reserved to them only the quantity of water necessary for the irrigation of such portion of their lands as were actually irrigated at that time, and that they were without authority to use water for the irrigation of the remainder of their lands in case they might subsequently reduce those lands to cultivation.
The ninth circuit court disagreed. The court held that the grant was not a grant *to* the Indians, but was a grant *from* the Indians to the United States, and that all rights not specifically granted were reserved to the Indians. The court further stated that the treaty extended the water rights to the lands which the Indians held in their possession, and was not restricted to the lands under cultivation. The court also recognized that the lands retained by the Indians who did not choose to remove to the reservation were also provided with permanent reservations of water for each tract.

In *United States v. Winans,* the Supreme Court held that the courts will not imply that the Indians have granted the right to their water by a treaty or other conveyance, but the water will be reserved for Indians' use unless the rights have been clearly reconveyed. This suit involved a treaty in 1859 with the Yakima Nation under which the Indians ceded certain lands to the U.S.
Under the agreement, any Indians living outside the tract set aside for the reservation were given one year to relocate within the reservation. The treaty guaranteed to all citizens of the United States the right to enter upon and settle any lands not actually occupied and cultivated by the Indians, if the land was not included in the reservation.

At the time the treaty was made, the fishing places on the Columbia River were part of the Indian country, subject to the occupancy of the Indians, with all the rights such occupancy gave. The object of the treaty was to limit the occupancy of the Indians to certain lands and to define their rights outside the land. Article III of the treaty included the provision:

"The exclusive right of taking fish in all streams where running through or bordering said reservation is further secured to said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with citizens of the territory, and of erecting temporary buildings for curing them..."

White settlers sought to exclude the Yakimas from the river by reason of white ownership of the bordering lands and the Indians' non-ownership of such lands. A lower court held that the Indians had rights which were merely equal to the rights of white settlers outside the reservation. The Supreme Court reversed, stating:

'The right to resort to the fishing places in controversy was a part of larger rights possessed by the Indians, upon the exercise of which there was not a shadow of impediment, and which were not much less necessary to the existence of the Indians than the atmosphere they breathed... (T)he treaty was not a grant of rights to the Indians, but a grant of right from them, a reservation of those not granted....There was an exclusive right of fishing reserved within certain boundaries. There was a right outside of those boundaries reserved "in common with citizens of the territory."...Citizens might share it, but the Indians were secured in its enjoyment by a special provision...The contingency of the future ownership of the lands (by others), therefore, was foreseen and provided for...to the extent and for the purpose mentioned. No other conlcusion would give effect to the treaty. And the right was intended to be continuing against the United States and its grantees as well as the state and its grantees.

In *United States v. Ahtanum Irrigation District,* the chief engineer of irrigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1908 entered into an agreement with white settlers situated outside the reservation. Under the terms of this agreement, the white settlers were given the rights to 75% and the Yakima people 25% of the natural of the Ahtanum Creek. The white settlers had made state appropriations and, in addition, claimed that their rights were settled by the 1908 agreement. A trial court held that in the treaties creating the reservation, no water rights were reserved and that since the agreement of 1908 was encouraged by the United States, the claim being made was barred.

The reservation had been created in 1855. The ninth circuit court, applying the Winters Doctrine, held that water in the quantity needed to meet the present and future needs of the Indians had been impliedly reserved, and that the Indians surrendered no rights not explicitly mentioned to the waters flowing within or on the boundaries of the reservation. The court went on to hold that while the Secretary of the Interior had authority to make agreements distributing unused waters, the agreement was not binding on the United States as to waters not being used in 1908 by the white settlers, because it was not ratified by Congress and the rights of the Indians under the Winters Doctrine were, therefore, controlling.

In *Arizona v. California.* (1963,) the government, on behalf of five Indian reservations, asserted rights to water from the Colorado River and its tributaries. One of these was the Colorado River Indian Reservation located partly in Arizona and partly in California. It was created by an act of Congress in 1865. Later, an area was added by executive order.

Arizona argued that the United States had no power to reserve the navigable waters after Arizona became a state. The Supreme Court noted that Arizona's argument was based in part on a line of cases wherein the Court had held that lands underlying navigable waters within a terriotry acquired by the government are held in trust for future states, but added these cases had no application. The Supreme court said:

"We have no doubt about the power of the United States under these clauses to reserve water rights for its reservations and its property."

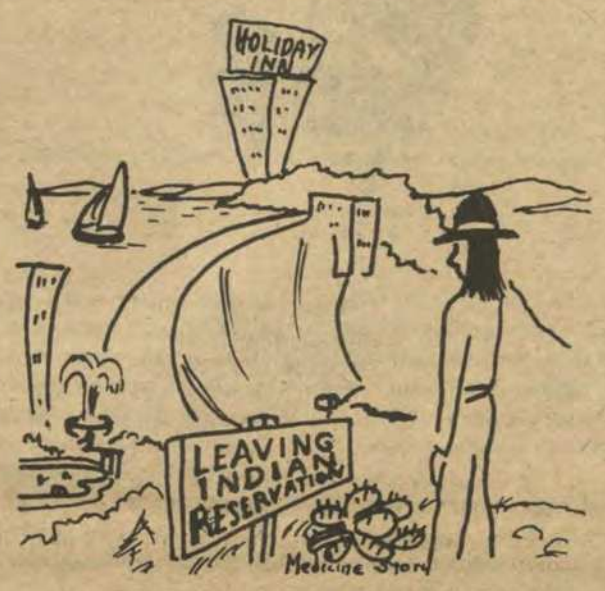
Arizona also contended that there was a lack of evidence to show that the United States "in establishing the reservations intended to reserve water" for the Indians. The Supreme Court rejected this contention, stating:

"It can be said without overstatement that when the Indians were put on these reservations they were not considered to be located in the most desirable area of the Nation. It is impossible to believe that when Congress created the great Golorado River Indian Reservation and when the Executive Department of this Nation created the other reservations they were unaware that most of the lands were of the desert kind – hot, scorching sands – and that water from the river would be essential to the life of the Indian people and to the animals they hunted and the crops they raised.....Much the same argument was made in *Winters* to persuade the Court to hold that Congress had created an Indian reservation without intending to reserve waters necessary to make the reservation livable. The Court rejected all of the arguments....the Government when it created that Indian Reservation, intended to deal fairly with the Indians by reserving for them the waters without which their lands would have been useless. ...We...agree that the United States did reserve the water rights for the Indians effective as of the time the Indian Reservations were created..."

QUANTITY OF WATER RESERVED FOR INDIANS

Many of the decrees which have applied the Winters doctrine have created a problem by leaving an "open end." The Supreme Court simply stated that there was water (without fixing the quantity) reserved for Indian use when the reservation was created. In the past this uncertainty has created a practical problem. No water user with a priority date later than the Indian water rights could safely proceed to develop an economic use for the unused water. At a given point in time it may have appeared that the quantity of water would exceed foreseeable Indian needs, but no one could be assured that the Indians' needs would not substantially increase at some future time to the point where the Indians would require all of the water. This uncertainty left a cloud on the surplus or unused water.

In the *Arizona v. California decision, the uncertainty was removed. Quantity was to be measured by the needs of the lands within the reservation which were feasably irrigable. This is a standard which can be applied with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The lands which are suitable for irrigation can be ascertained. The quantity of water needed per acre for irrigation purposes can be determined by methods used in any other water litigation. Thus the total amount of Indian claims can be determined. Arizona had argued that the quantity of water reserved should be measured by the Indians' reasonable foreseeable needs." which the Supreme Court said in fact means "by the number of Indians." In rejecting this, the Supreme Court said:*



"How many Indians there will be and what their future needs will be can only be guessed. We have concluded, ...that the only feasible and fair way by which reserved water fot the reservation can be measured is irrigable acreage."

By applying the "irrigable acreage" standard, perhaps the "open end" nature of the decrees can be "closed." It is desirable that this be done. If water for Indian use can be reserved to meet all needs of the Indians in perpetuity as these needs develop, expand, and grow, then the Indians could forever hold a cloud over all water rights on or near the reservations.

An exception to these holdings would appear to have been made in the Walker River case decided by the ninth circuit court in 1939. There it appeared that the number of Indians was not increasing and it was unlikely that there would be cultivation of more than 2,100 acres. The Indians' experience over the past seventy years was held to be an indication of their needs. The quantity of water set aside for the Indians was fixed at an amount sufficient to irrigate the 2,100 acres. But in 1963, the Supreme Court held that sufficient water had been reserved to irrigate "the irrigable portions of the reserved lands," and affirmed an allotment of about 1,000,000 acre-feet to be used on about 135,000 irrigable acres of land.

DATES OF INDIAN PRIORITIES

The priority of the Indian water right is the date the reservation was set aside for Indian use either by treaty, by act of Congress, or by executive order. With the setting aside of the land there was, under the Winters Doctrine discussed above, an implied reservation of sufficient water to irrigate the lands within the reservation which could be irrigated.

According to the interpretations of the courts, when Congress provided for the creation of Indian reservations, whether they were created by an act of Congress, by departmental action, or by executive order, the lands were withdrawn from the public domain, and there was impliedly also withdrawn and set aside for Indian use sufficient water to meet the needs of the Indians for their irrigable lands.

This withdrawal of the water from public appropriation must apply and become effective beginning on the date the land and water are withdrawn from private appropriation, thus defeating the initiation of any private right after the waters are withdrawn. One might logically still look for some congressional conveyance, or for an expression of intent to convey these water rights to the Indians. However, in most cases such intent must be implied, because the treaty or order creating the reservation is generally silent as to water. Nevertheless, the courts have held consistently not only that the water was withdrawn from private appropriation, but also that it was reserved and set aside for the Indians. The Supreme Court, in *Arizona v. Californiaa,* afirms that the right "vested" effective as of the time the Indian Reservations were crested.

WATER SUBJECT TO INDIAN CLAIMS

When various sources of water supply are available to the Indians, the problems may be presented of determining which waters were reserved for the Indians. As noted above, the total quantity reserved has been stated to be that amount needed on irrigable lands. This applicable standard leaves a number of questions unanswered. If there are several streams or other water sources available to the Indian reservation, which collectively would exceed the Indians' needs, which of the sources, or how much water from each source, was impliedly reserved May the Indians take all of the water from the streams where the cost of constructing facilities to divert the water is more favorable to them, even though by so doing they foreclose all non-Indian use of waters of those particular streams?

May they take the primary flow of many streams and require the non—Indian users to expend money for storage of the high flow? If a particular stream, with reasonable expenditure, will yield to them all the water they need except in cases of extreme rought, are they entitled during periods of drought to go to streams which are not normally necessary to meet their needs? If waters sufficient to meet their needs do not rise on or flow through an Indian reservation, may they go to a distant stream to meet their needs? These questions have not been fully answered.

In most cases, the act of Congress or the executive order which created the reservations is silent as regards water. Problems will arise in determining which sources of water were reserved for the Indians, and these problems will become more serious as water resources are put to full use. In order to utilize completely the waters of any of the western rivers, storage is necessary to catch the high spring runoff. Further, the total yield of a stream will vary considerably from year to year, and some carryoff storage is desirable to provide water for low-water years. Even with storage, periods of shortage may occur in abnormally dry cycles. It would be logical and reasonable to assume that, where there are rivers running through or springs which arise on Indian lands, Congress intended that these be the sources which the Indians should use if by reasonable expenditure of money these sources could be made to meet their needs.

SUPERIOR RIGHTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The courts have, for whatever reasons, established precedents which would appear to guarantee to Native people a priority right to enough water to meet their needs. The court decisions can be seen in two lights, however. On the one hand, it is probably true that the decisions over water were less of a defense of Native lands than a defense of the federal interest. The courts have held that the reservations are federal lands, and that the water is, therefore, owned by the federal government, and they have not been willing to allow the states to claim superior rights to the water because they have held that the federal government has the superior right. Also, in some of the cases, historically, the lands held by the Indians were lands which would presumably fall away from Indian ownership in the near future, and those lands were guaranteed the water, with or without the Indians.

But the history of those decisions has left the Indian people with water rights. And today, Indian nations are increasingly moving to secure their rights, which in this case means to utilize the water in their territories. The historical momentum and the contemporary and future political realities appear to be on a collision course, one which makes the battle for water a primary issue of the future.

The Theft Of Life

Mankato, Minn. – On a November day in 1972, a 26-year-old Indian woman entered a Los Angeles, California, doctor's office and asked the doctor to give her a womb transplant. "A surprising request," the doctor thought. But not nearly as shocking as the history that provoked the request.

The woman told the doctor that she had heard about kidney transplants, and she desperately needed a womb because her future husband and she wanted to have children.

She had been "sterilized" for birth control purposes six years earlier with a complete hysterectomy. At the time she was an alcoholic with two children in foster homes. A doctor convinced her that to make the best of her life she should be sterilized. So, she did as the doctor advised.

But, at 26 years old, the woman was no longer an alcoholic. She was in love with a man and they were planning to marry.

She was devastated when she learned that womb transplants are impossible. And the distress she and her husband suffered because of her inability to have children later led to a divorce.

The story was related to the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER by the Los Angeles Doctor, Connie Uri, a Choctaw and Cherokee Indian.

"At first I thought I had discovered a case of malpractice," Dr. Uri said. "There was no good reason for a doctor to perform a complete hysterectomy rather than a tubal ligation on a 20-year-old, healthy woman."

Later Uri learned that the incident was not an isolated one. She continued to hear from women who complained they agreed to sterilizations under duress or without information about the irreversible nature of the operation.

"I began accusing the government of genocide and insisted on a congressional investigation," she said. Senator James Abourezk requested a study of United States Indian Health Service (IHS) sterilization policies, and "unfortunately the study proved I was right," Uri said.

The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO). study released in November did not indicate that women were forced to receive sterilizations. But id did reveal that Indian women may have thought they had to agree to the operations.

In violation of federal regulations, the most widely used consent forms did not clearly inform Indian women that they had the right to refuse the operation.

The GAO studied four of the 12 areas serviced by the Indian Health Service – Albuquerque, N.M., Phoenix, Arizona, Aberdeen, South Dakota, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and found that a large number of Indian women, relative to their population size, had been sterilized. Between 1973 and 1976, 3406 Indian women were sterilized. Among those were 36 women under 21 years old, who were sterilized despite a court-ordered moratorium on such operations.

The GAO confined its investigation to IHS records, and did not prove case histories, observe patient-doctor relationships or interview women who had been sterilized.

But Uri, along with a group of Indian women (many of whom are employed by the government) have been conducting their own "quiet investigation." They have observed IHS procedures and interviewed numerous women who have been sterilized, Uri said.

Their investigation, along with the GAO report, has led Uri to believe that more than a quarter of all American Indian women have been sterilized, leaving only about 100,000 women of child-bearing age who can have children.

"It is an extreme problem because there are so few Indians in existence; less than a million of us," she said. "We are not like other minorities. We have no gene pool in Africa or Asia. When we are gone, that's it."

Uri does not believe sterilizations are prompted by a government plan to exterminate American Indians. Rather, Uri said, they result from 'the warped thinking of doctors who think the solution to poverty is not to allow people to be born. They have the wrong concept of life. They think to have a good life, you must be born into a middle-class standard of living. But most people in the world are not born into wealth. And I wouldn't have been born if this was a prerequisite for life."

"Doctors have assumed a God-like authority, and think they are helping women by sterilizing them."

Very few Indian women ask to be sterilized, Uri said. "In almost every situation, the woman is talked into it in a very authoritarian, or coerced manner." It is easy to do because the women have so much faith in the doctor, Uri said.

One woman told Uri that she went to the doctor after suffering from severe headaches. The doctor told the woman her head hurt because she was afraid of becoming pregnant, and advised sterilization. The woman agreed, but the headaches persisted. She later learned she had a brain tumor, said Uri.

Another woman with three children went to the doctor to be treated for stomach problems. "The doctor immediately assumed the woman was vomiting because she was pregnant, and yelled at her, 'Why the hell don't you get your tubes tied so you won't get sick any more!'"

A large number of women agree to sterilization operations because they are afraid their children will be taken from them if they refuse. Many also believe welfare benefits or services may be withheld from them, Uri said.

To avoid this misunderstanding, the IHS is required to inform women that their benefits will not be withheld, and that numerous other birth control measures are available to them. But, IHS records lacked evidence that the women had been provided this information before agreeing to the operations, the GAO found. The IHS reportedly is now conforming with these requirements, a GAO spokesman said.

Most Indian women are sterilized at the time they are giving birth and their consent is often taken while they are heavily sedated, Uri contends. "Almost every woman having a Cesarean section is bound to be sterilied."

Consent received under such circumstances would violate federal regulations requiring women to be given a 72-hour waiting period between the time of consent and the operation.

Most Indian women do not realize the permanent effects of the operation when they give their consent, Uri adds.

"And when they do realize they can't create life, they feel castrated and psychological problems result. It dawns on different women at different times. For some, the realization does not strike until many years later, but when it does, they often have a total nervous breakdown, try to commit suicide, go into prostitution or become alcoholics."

Families are torn apart by the woman's distress, and husbands often resent the operations done without their consent, uri said.

But steril'zation is not the only trauma that destroys American Indian families.

Once an Indian child is born, parents stand a one in four chance that they will lose their child.

An Association of American Indian Affairs ((AAIA) study indicates that 25 to 35 per cent of all Indian children are removed from their families and placed in foster homes, adoptive homes or institutions, and the number is growing in some states.

Deceitful and illegal means are often used to remove Indian children from good parents or relatives, evidence submitted to a Senate subcommittee indicates. Public and private welfare agencies apparently are operating under the assumption that most Indian children would be better off growing up non-Indian.

"Officials would seemingly rather place Indian children in non-Indian settings where their Indian culture, their Indian traditions, and in general their entire Indian way of life is smothered," Abourezk, chairing a Senate subcommittee on Indian child welfare, told the committee three years ago. To date, Congress has passed no legislation to prevent this kind of abuse.

"The federal government has been conspicuous by its lack of action," Abourezk said. "It has allowed these agencies to strike at the heart of Indian communities by literally stealing Indian children, a course which can only weaken rather than strengthen the Indian child, family and community. It has been called cultural genocide."

The greatest influence on Indian emotional life today is "the threat that their children will be taken away from them," William Byler, executive director of the AAIA told the subcommittee.

"Parents who fear they may lose their children may have their self=confidence so undermined, their ability to function successfully as parents is impaired," he said. "When the welfare department

(Continued on next page.)

removes the children, it also removes much of the parents' incentive to struggle against the conditions under which they live."

Psychiatrist James Shore agrees: When Indian parents are informed that their children will be removed, they develop "a sense of hopelessness and despair," he adds. The parents often become withdrawn and depressed and begin "intensive drinking." Social workers then interpret this "as a further lack of concern for Indian children," and additional justification for taking the children.

But some Indian parents claim their children have been taken from them with no advance warning. Indians told the subcommittee that they have left their children with a relative or babysitter, and returned home to find that a social worker had taken the children.

Some Indians have never been able to learn where the social worker took the children. Indians often are illegally excluded from court proceedings, or are not provided legal counsel, according to testimony before the subcommittee.

Mrs. Cheryl DeCoteau, Sisseton, S.D., said she went to pick up her five-year-old son, John, from the babysitter in December 1970, and "they wouldn't give him to me." He was taken to a foster home and DeCoteau's social worker ignored her pleas for help, DeCoteau said.

"The man (from the welfare department) said that I wasn't a very good mother and everything, and that my children were better off being in a white home. They could buy all this stuff that I couldn't give them, and give them all the love that I couldn't give them."

But there was never a court hearing to prove DeCoteau was not a good mother, according to Birt Hirsch, an AAIA attorney who began representing her after she struggled in vain for months to get back her child.

"The original hearing was one of the grossest violations of due process that I have ever encountered," Hirsch said. "Unfortunately, I find it is quite commonplace when you're dealing with Indian parents and Indian children."

DeCoteau was not given notice of court hearings, and the judge ordered her children placed in custody of the welfare department without informing her.

"They took her child away from her without any hearing on her unfitness," Hirsch said.

Later, DeCoteau suffered again at the hands of the welfare department. She was pregnant and a social worker visited her weekly to coax her into placing her child for adoption. She refused continually before giving birth in the hospital, and after she returned home with her baby.

One day she was called to the welfare office and told to sign some papers. "I was kind of sick then and I didn't know what I was signing. He just asked me to sign my name on the top of the paper. Then they took the baby and I asked him what he was doing, and he said it was too late now, that I gave him (the baby) up for adoption. They just took him right out the doors."

She fought the case in court for about ten months and finally got both children back.

In another case two Wisconsin women, visiting the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation, obtained custody of three-year-old Benita Rowland by leading Benita's mother to believe they were merely planning to take the child on a short trip, according to Ken Rowland, the girl's father. Benita's mother signed papers she later learned gave Consent for her child's adoption. A local missionary had urged Mrs. Rowland to sign, Rowland said.

For months the Rowlands unsuccessfully sought to obtain Benita's return. The two women offered the Rowlands money instead of Benita, and the Rowlands refused. One woman wrote Benita's mother, "God has ordained it as it is." "We have not taken Benita from you. You gave her physical birth, which we could not give, and we can give her opportunities which you could not give."

The AAIA learned of this case and retained an attorney to represent the Rowlands. The Rock County Circuit Court quickly ordered Benita's return to her parents.

Most families are not that fortunate, Hirsch said, because most do not get the legal help they need.

"I think that most of the Indian women are usually overwhelmed by people who think their children should be taken away from them, and they really don't stand up to anybody, and they don't have anyone to tell," said a Nevada Indian woman whose children were taken from her.

(Continued on next page.)

U.S. AID to sterilization programs

NEW YORK (from LNS)- -The United States plans to sterilize one-fourth of the world's women, according to Dr. R.T. Ravenholt, director of the US agency for international development's (AID) office on population control. In an interview with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Ravenholt said that as many as 100 million women might be sterilized if US goals are met.

AID, a branch of the US state department, justifies its interest in controlling population on the grounds that poverty and world hunger are the results of over-population.

According to Ravenholt, population control is necessary to maintain "the normal operation of US commercial interests around the world."

"Without our trying to help these countries with their economic and social development, the world would rebel against the strong US commercial presence," he said.

AID has spent more in population control programs in recent years ($ 125 million in 1973) than in agriculture and rural development planning combined. Primary funding for population control in the Third World today comes from AID.

Indications are that US interests lie in restricting population increase only among certain groups. Sterilization of poor women has been particularly pronounced in Puerto Rico, Brazil, Colombia, and India. Between 1963 and 1965 more than 400,000 Colombian women were sterilized in a program funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. In Bolivia, a US- imposed population control program administered by the Peace Corps sterilized Quechua Indian women without their knowledge or consent, according to the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA). And statistics from the population studies department of Puerto Rico confirm that sterilization of poor women was practiced there as well.

In the US, the federally funded health, education and welfare (HEW) department has initiated sterilization campaigns since 1966. Between 1969 and 1974, HEW's family planning budget increased from $51 million to over $250 million. HEW now funds 90% of the sterilization costs of poor people. Since 1970, female sterilization in the US have increased almost 300%, 192,000 to 548,000 performed each year.

An estimated 32% of all black women in the US are sterilized before the age of 30. High rates of female sterilization among Chicanos have also been reported.

"POPULATION CONTROL IS NECESSARY

TO MAINTAIN . . . .

. . . . THE NORMAL OPERATION OF U.S. COMMERCIAL INTERESTS AROUND THE WORLD."

St. Louis' Washington University Medical School houses one of the programs the United States government uses in trying to reach its sterilization goal. Called program for international education in gynecology and obstetrics (PIEGO), it is an AID- financed program which functions, by Ravenholt's own admission, to train foreign doctors in advanced "fertility management techniques," including sterilization. Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore also participates in the program.

In the six years since PIEGO was created, Ravenholt said, more than 500 doctors from 60 countries have been trained.

Last June, Washington University officials denied that the PIEGO program was basically a training program in female sterilization for foreign doctors. Both Dr. Arpad I Csapo, co-director of the program, and Dr. William H. Dansforth, chancellor of the university, publicly characteried the program as a brush-up course in obstetrics and gynecology.

In private, however, Dr. Csapo told two medical students that the emphasis was on sterilization , particularly on how to perform laproscopic tubal ligations (surgical sterilizations) and that lectures focused on the importance of population control in preserving social stability in the trainee's various countries.

Because of the controversy that AID's PIEGO program has generated in places like Washington University and in certain Third World countries, AID's emphasis on exporting sterilization is being downplayed.

In a letter to the chancellor of Washington University, who had requested clarification of PIEGO's aims, AID claimed that Ravenholt's statements were "seriously distorted" and that sterilization training was only one of many aspects of the PIEGO program.

HOWEVER, in testimony before the House appropriations subcommittee April 6, 1976, Ravenholt stated that "F (well-run) surgical clinics should be able to provide the 50,000 sterilizations needed to reach the level of 25% among the 200,000 women of reproductive age in a general population of 1 million."

-Jordan Barnett

Indians are continually faced with social workers who do not understand Indian culture, and consequently misjudge the life provided Indian children. In many cases social workers claim poverty, poor housing, lack of modern plumbing and overcrowding ' constitute parental neglect, according to the AAIA.

In a California case, for example, social workers claimed they took three-year-old Blossom Lavone away from her mother because they believed an Indian reservation was an unsuitable environment for a child. Although they had no evidence that Blossom's mother was unfit, social workers argued that pre-adoptive parents were financially able to provide a home and way of life superior to that provided by Blossom's mother. Eventually, the child was ordered returned to her mother.

Social workers often misjudge Indian family relationships, and remove children when there is no cause, Shore said. Blinded by their own culture, white social workers do not appreciate the "particular kind of respect that the Indian parent has for his child," he said. Indian children are provided independence and responsibility at early ages, and social workers interpret that as neglect.

They also believe Indian parents are not strict enough with their children because "physical discipline" is not used, Shore added. "In most cases, the traditional Indian sanction is against physical abuse of children" and the battered child syndrome is "virtually unknown."

The Indian concept of an extended family is most frequently misunderstood by social workers, Byler added. "An Indian child may have scores of relatives who are counted as close family. Many social workers, untutored in the ways of Indian family life, consider leaving the child with persons outside the nuclear family as neglect and thus as grounds for terminating parental rights."

Sometimes Indians consider the social worker, in a sense, a part of the extended family, and parents make a grave error when they turn to the welfare department for temporary care of their children. The social workers sometimes perceive their action as neglect.

Many Indian children are removed from homes where parents have drinking problems, but that criterion is not equally applied to non-Indian parents who are alcoholics, Byler said. Indians with drinking problems should be given care, rather than having their children removed, which only makes their alcohol problem worse, he noted. Byler's emphasis on care for families with problems coincides with the opinion of psychologists who have worked with Indians.

"The vast majority of social workers called to assist Indian families when there is a crisis or distress do a very poor job," Dr. Joseph Westermeyer of the University of Minnesota Department of Psychiatry, said. "They (social workers) do not work to keep the family intact. They will not use the extended family resources. They won't use homemaker or mental health facilities or collaborate with Indian community resources.

"There seems to be an early recourse to foster placement. Foster placement is often used as sort of a peace power against the family; to whip the family into shape when they experience difficulties, rather than to help them throught the crisis."

The results have been disastrous for Indian children as well as for their parents. Children are often shifted from white home to white home, and kept out of contact with their own community and parents. They develop "chronic insecurity and may have difficulty adapting to family and adult life" later, Westermeyer said.

The children may adjust well when young, but when they reach adolescence, problems become evident. By adolescence, youths know little about Indian culture. They have been raised in white homes, attended white schools and churches.

But "during adolescence, they find that society will not grant them the white identity they have," Westermeyer said. "At the same time, they find that society is putting on them an identity they do not possess."

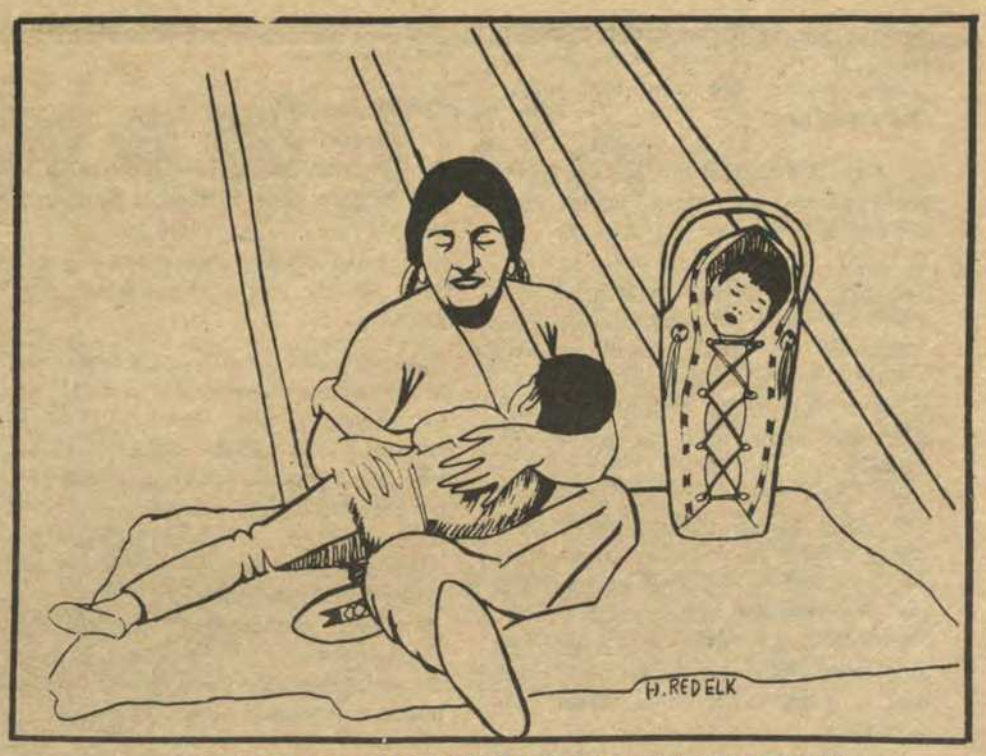
When Indian youths begin to date, white parents do not want them dating their children. In many instances Indians have difficulty getting jobs in local drugstores, or in purchasing a motorcycle, or taking out a bank loan on a car, although their peers are having no problems in these areas, Westermeyer notes. Furthermore, they are called derogatory names related to their racial identity – buck, squaw, Sitting Bull.

"They have no peer group or no identity with any group that they might share this identity," Westermeyer said. He has found that the best adjusted Indians, the ones most likely to be employed and have a good family life, are the Indians with the highest identity with their native culture. Conversely, he has found that Indians with low cultural identity are more likely to have social problems, be imprisoned or suffer mental illness.

"...THE BEST ADJUSTED INDIANS, THE ONES MOST LIKELY TO BE EMPLOYED AND HAVE A GOOD FAMILY LIFE, ARE THE INDIANS WITH THE HIGHEST IDENTITY WITH THEIR NATIVE CULTURE....INDIANS WITH LOW CULTURAL IDENTITY ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BE IMPRISONED OR SUFFER MENTAL ILLNESS."

His observations coincide with a National Institute of Mental Health report on "Suicide, Homocide, and Alcoholism Among American Indians." Indians who have lived with a number of "ineffective or inappropriate parental substitutes," and who had spent time in boarding schools were inclined to commit suicide. The report also notes a "notable" increase in suicide among Indians, particularly the young.

Ed Howes, a youth worker in Duluth, Minnesota, has found that 80.5% of the Indian youths he encounters, as a result of criminal involvement, had been in foster homes or group homes. One young man who spent most of his life in foster homes said. "It's built in me a resentment, a feeling of anger. They had stolen everything from me. I was mad at the world. I didn't care."



"INDIANS ARE CONTINUALLY FACED WITH SOCIAL WORKERS WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND INDIAN CULTURE AND CONSEQUENTLY MISJUDGE THE LIFE PROVIDED INDIAN CHILDREN."

Indian communities agonize over the destruction of their youths, and emphasize that foster and adoptive placement of Indian children should fall under the tribes' jurisdiction.

Indians realize there are times when children should be removed from their own homes, but Indians are in a better position to determine that need. In addition, children should be placed in homes in their own communities, so they do not lose contact with their roots and may retain a relationship with their family, most Indians contend.

Numerous Indians have requested foster children, but their requests are generally ignored, Hirsch said. Even the children's own relatives are denied custody while 90 per cent of the children are placed in non-Indian homes. Adoptive and foster care agencies are "obliged to overcome their past bad practices, and should go into Indian communities on a goodwill mission to let it be known they are seeking Indian foster homes."

NORMA JEAN SERENA, A NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN WHO WAS STERILIZED WITHOUT HER CONSENT AND HAD HER CHILDREN TAKEN AWAY. SHE IS SUING WELFARE AGENCIES AND DOCTORS.

Among these agencies should be the Catholic Social Services, Hirsch said. These agencies, like others, have sometimes been remiss in their responsibility to Indian communities, he said.

"One of the main troubles with the agencies is that they are in the business of placing kids," Hirsch noted. "And when they get applicants, they feel obliged to serve the applicant rather than the Indian parents or children."

This particularly angers Indians because U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) monies, supposedly intended to help Indians, are being provided to state and county authorities which have been harming Indians. The BIA does not make routine checks into child placement practices, and has not withheld money when there have been abuses.

Some Indians also criticize the BIA for continuing to operate 75 boarding schools which educate 17 percent of Indian children. Numerous studies have indicated that the boarding schools, which remove children from their homes for most of the year, cause similar problems for parents and children as those noted for foster and adopted Indian children.

Because the children are in schools away from parental models, they often do not know how to function as an adequate parent or spouse later in life, or lack confidence in themselves to do so, according to Dr. Robert Bergman of the U.S. Indian Health Service. Boarding schools were once the primary educational institutions for Indian children, but today either serve remote areas or children with behavioral or emotional disorders.

Rather than helping children with disorders, however, the boarding schools aggravate the problems because schools are overcrowded and understaffed and children are far away from home, Bergman said.

In some instances, the boarding schools have been praised because they provide food and clothing for children. But Byler, supported by many Indians, suggested, "Let's bring the food and clothing to the children, and not the children to the food and clothing."

This article originally appeared in the May 27, 1977 edition of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER. NCR is presently planning a six-part series to focus on Indian concerns and problems from the Native perspective. Gail MarkJarvis, 25, the author of this piece, is a reporter for the MANKATO FREE PRESS, and has reported Indian affairs since the occupation of the Gresham (Wis.) novitiate in January, 1975.

LETTERS

Sotsisowah and Editors:
I have become more and more disappointed with AKWESASNE NOTES over the past two years. NOTES seemed to be turning its back on social activism and advocating nothing more than religious escapism. To be honest, you were beginning to turn my stomach. At the same time, however, I know that NOTES was seriously concerned with the oppression of Amerindians and many of the major problems of our society as a whole.

So I would like to deal in this letter with what I consider the fundamental misconception that is contained in the ideas and attitudes expressed by NOTES and most especially by Sotsisowah. Again and again you express a contemptuously oblivious ignorance of the real material forms of oppression suffered by the vast majority of the members of modern society. Like the rich American tourist looking out from his expensive hotel room over the streets of Calcutta or Bogota you wonder why these foolish people have *chosen* such a way of life. And your all-knowing ignorance is nothing more than an unconscious insult to those who struggle against conditions of life which you do not understand.

I would like to make my response to your ideas more specific by relating to one paragraph of your article in the last NOTES [vol. 9, no. 3,] called "The Darkening Horizons," the thrid paragraph on page six. In it you expound upon the astounding theory that industrial society does not exploit human beings at all (!) but only natural resources, destroying and replacing the people who once lived on the land where those resources were found. I understand that this strangely blind theory originates from the fact that some tribal societies during particularly brutal first contact with industrial society are virtually exterminated rather than assimulated. But through the history of growth of the modern capitalist system including recent times and still today most of those who live at or beyond the edges of the international market have been or are being assimulated rather than exterminated. They are gobbled up by the social-economic-political monster of imperialism.

Sotsisowah contends that industrial imperialism "does not need to press people into service. All it requires is that people stand quietly aside while the resources are taken." And what Sotsisowah is the means by which these resources are taken? Do little robots come with little blinking eyes with robot shovels? Yes Sotsisowah sees the workers who come, the men with bent backs and calloused hands and their women and children as no more than machines with feet, so many tools, appendages of the great machine of modern civilization. Sotsisowah sees us — my people — as our social masters see us. For to them we are no more than *things* to be employed, used, for their purposes, to produce goods for *them* in their factories or on the supply lines to those factories from the mines and wells across oceans and continents so that we may then in turn buy back from them some of the things we have made, at prices always greater than their value providing them with a monetary profit and economic control over all of us, with wealth and power unsurpassed in Ceasar's most fantastic dreams.

You see Sotsisowah and friends after they have taken the gold or coal or tin from your land, and after they have taken the lumber from your forests and after all the game and fish are gone and then they take your last square inch of land and then pass laws against squatting on *their* land and institute long jail sentences or even capital punishment for stealing *their* property there is still something more they can take.

Then they can take your labor. Without even putting chains on your hands they can make you volunteer to become their slaves. It appears as an offer of assistance — either generous or insulting, depending upon the economic worth of your skills — but an offer you cannot refuse. So you sell your sweat and your time by the hour or the week and in return you are given little magic tokens of metal or paper called money. With these you can then go to one of their stores to buy food or clothes, etc. . You can pay them for the use of some rooms to live in. Why, in good times if you will work for them long and diligently and save your money, you might even be able to buy from them a house and even a little piece of land. And while you work your life away trying to improve your personal situation or just to stay alive, they get richer and richer and more powerful. They rule over you, and no matter what you may think about it you must acknowledge their power, their authority, their social superiority. You must obey. You must serve.

In America we have been taught, nay we have been trained to call this "democracy." But I am a Marxist and a Leninist so I call things by their real names. The scientific objective name for it is capitalism. It is a system which grew up in Europe at first slowly and then rapidly smashing the old feudal social relations and classes and reaching out to conquer the world. It is a contradictory, wasteful, cruel, blind but undeniably powerful system It has increased the material culture and wealth of the world many times over. It has produced concentrations of amazing wealth, luxury, and power in the midst of unbelievable poverty, suffering and despair. It is a social-economic-political system which is run by a tiny minority of financiers and international businessmen who are driven by the constant need to make a profit.

The reason why these capitalists are driven to compete in building and destroying personal empires has nothing to do with bad thoughts in their heads. They are each and all driven by the real material forces at work within the social system of production which they direct. If any capitalist fails to be as ruthless and cruel as necessary in order to maximize profits he will be driven out of business, ruined by other capitalists and have to sell his business for whatever he can get. "The big fish eat the little fish."

And no amount of moralizing, of philosophizing, of preaching, or praying, or clean living, not the most natural, profound, religious, holy, etc., will change a bit of this. Only when those people who suffer the immediate deprivations and punishments of this insane form of social organization are organized into a force that can physically wrest control of this society away from the tiny majority who today own all our mass technology will it be possible for society as a whole to decide what *we* should do with *our* technology.

Until that day, any and all discussion of what "we" should do with "our" technology will be nothing more than a "voice crying in the wilderness."

The people of this country do not control the technology. The workers, students, small farmers, *we* do not control any more than we own the industries, the energy monopolies, the banks, the corporations. We do not own or control anything but some furniture, probably an automobile, maybe if we are lucky a small house on a small piece of land. Our sources of information, the television and radio networks and stations, the commercial newspapers and magazines are owned by our social masters, the capitalists. The gentlemen who hire the well-paid spokesmen you see or hear give the "news" at night — they are the very ones who own I.T.T., General Electric, U.S. Steel, Kennecott Copper, etc.. Do you really think that these — only lie about you? Do you think they and their government only fraim A.I.M. leaders?

Six miles over the hill from where I work lies an old crumbling industrial city called Holyoke. There live two young white union organizers who have been framed by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the U.S. government. Tony Suarez and Alex Markley are now set to serve more than a year in jail for the "crime" of having sold two firecrackers to a government provacateur who ahd been pestering them to help him blow up trucks during a strike. The government dropped the elaborate and obviously contrived conspriacy charges. But the only reason charges were brought was because Markley had refused to become a spy for the Feds in the labor movement.

At least five out of every seven days of fifty weeks of every year I go to work in a stinking steam-filled dungeon called a felt factory. I operate a huge machine. I do not know one person who enjoys it or has chosen it over anything better. I work long hours when I can and often when I don't want to. I own nothing that I produce nor do I know the man for whom I work. He lives in a mansion forty miles away. I and all the people who work with me are prisoners in a trap which none of us made. We are wage-slaves. Any of us can leave this factory. But every one of us knows that if we quit here then we must go to another place like this maybe a little better maybe worse.

I don't mean to sound like I'm exaggerating the oppressiveness of working life in America. The wage rates in our shop are about average in majufacturing. It's a scab shop like most. But average for the U.S. is far above the average living and working conditions throughout the world. The vast majority of proletarians in the third world are immeasurably worse off. Their peasant cousins too suffer as badly from the impoverishment that is slowly driving them off all the land to become paupers or proletarians themselves.

Is Sotsisowah unaware of the sufferings of the millions of South American blacks who slave away their lives in the mines and factories of Johannesburg and Capetown? Does he know nothing of the Amer-Indian proletarians of the Bolivian altiplano who have fought their social masters so heroically time and time again each time defeated by their isolation and by a national guard and army recruited from the more politically backward Indio peasants of the eastern agricultural districts? Does he believe that the majority of those jailed, tortured, and murdered during and after the imperialist-fascist putsch in Chile were Mapuches? It was the workers of Santiago and the industrial towns who caught the brunt of it. They suffer at least 15% unemployment today with no such thing as government benefits. Even many of those who are working are starving, literally starving, because of the unbelievably low wages. But "modern industrial society" does not exploit human labor?

In my life I have worked in a department store, for building contractors, and a tree nursery. I have worked for Norton Abrasives, a firm having extensive business in South Africa, for G.E., for the Scott Paper Co., for J.P. Stevens, and now in a felt mill. But Sotsisowah says I have never been exploited. He knows this because he has read it in the books of my exploiters, the employing class. This is an insult, Sotsisowah, an insult against myself and my class in this country and around the world.

Included with this letter is a small contribution which I hope will help your paper survive. But you have already begun to lose my interest and serious consideration. I still want to see the next issue, but if NOTES does not soon begin to change the directions it has taken for more than a year now I will have to cancel my subscription altogether. Power and understanding to you — and us all.

Sincerely,

Steve Manty
97 South Street
Northampton, Mass 0160

Notes:
I reread your article "The Damage Close to Us." The thing that impressed me was how Marxist your thinking is!

I immediately was reminded of Antonio Gramschi, founder of the Italian Communist Party. I'm going to uote directly from GRAMSCI'S MARXISM by Carl Boggs:

"As Max Wever noted in his analysis of bureaucracy, Marxism had typically ignored any form of domination outside the sphere of production itself. From Gramschi's perspective, what was missing was an understanding of the subtle but pervasive forms of ideological control and manipulation that served to perpetuate all repressive structures — a crippling analytical deficiency that held back the advance of political strategy in all previous socialist movements.(p. 38)

In differentiating two fundamental types of political control, Gramsci contrasted the functions of 'domination' (direct physical coercion) with those of 'hegemony' or 'direction' (consent, ideological control), which correspond roughly to the Hegelian distinction between political society and civil society. He assumed that no regime, regardless of how authoritarian it was, oculd sustain itself primarily through organized State power; in the long run, its scope of popular support or 'legitimacy' was always bound to contribute to stability, particularly during times of stress or crisis. It was further obvious to Gramsci that Marxism, as a theory striving towards universality, would have to take account of both spheres of authority in order to effectively press its political claims.

By hegemony Gramsci meant the permeation throughout civil society — including a whole range of structures and activities like trade unions, schools, the churches, and the family — of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs, morality, etc. that is in one way or another supportive of the established order and the class interests that dominate it. Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an 'organizing principle.' or world-view (or combination of such world-views,) that is diffused by agencies of ideological control and scoialization into every area of aily life. To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the broad masses, it becomes part of 'common sense;'

To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the broad masses, it becomes part of 'common sense;' as all ruling elites seek to perpetuate their power, wealth, and status, they necessarily attempt to popularie their own philosophy, culture, morality, etc., and render them unchallengeable, part of the natural order of things. For hegemony to assert itself successfully in any society, therefore, it must operate in a dualistic manner: as a 'general conception of life' for the masses, and as a 'scholastic programme' or set of principles which is advanced by a sector of the intellectuals. (p. 39)
According to Gramsci, the 'crisis of the modern state' occurs when the ruling class is 'stripped of its spiritual prestige and pwoer' and reduced to its 'economic-corporate' existence, which reveals more clearly than ever the cause of oppression. (p. 41)"

Gramsci does not say that once the buble is burst, revolution will follow. He lays out several tasks that need to occur on advance of revolution: cultural preparation, oganization, and unity of the revolutionary movement.

Your article showed in concrete examples how hegemony functions, how it invades our consciousness. It is understandable why you say your article feels "incomplete." It is. Your analysis has just begun! You're on the right path. You are demystifying that hegemony that captivates us all.

It seems we have several tasks: 1)Expose the forms of domination which oppress us, 2) Establish different, non-oppressing forms of relating to people, resources, life, etc; 3)Build the mass-based organizational structure/network required to decentralize. My guess is that you have come to somewhat similar conclusions by observing and listening and experiencing. With a little theory I think the incompletion you might feel would be lessened.
I feel your wavering on the edge of fatalism, almost becoming entangled in the monster you condemn. Ed.: "The road climbs around the mountains and it seems a safer place — a place with a future. It is a fantasy..." No, it isn't. It is a struggle, an attempt to build a counter-hegemonic institution right in the midst of the monster! What you described in your article are the realities of the situation. Alright, that's what we have to work with. We happen to be alive in 1977, not 1877 or 2077. Our reality is what it is and our struggle must take place within the world today. So we have to devise ways which will advance the human situation. Bleakness is a relative thing. We get our strength by deciding to be strong.

I think you're asking the right questions and I have a hunch you'll find some good answers.

Al Wroblewski
St. Paul, Minn.

NOTES:
Greetings to all our Sisters & Brothers
Out there in minimum security land.

From deep within the belly of the beast
America's No. 1 Maxi-Kamp
For political prisoners
U.S.P. Marion, Illinois,
Comes bursting forth
The birth of a new chapter
Of the American Indian Movement.

With great love for our people
We ask your continued support
In common struggle
Against the common enemy.

P.O.W.s	Alan Iron Moccasin
Gwarth-ee-lass (Leonard Peltier)	Sam Chee
Standing Deer	Joseph Komok
Robert H. Wilson	Clyde Moreland
	Alfred Smith

P.S. Our Brother Alfred Smith is presently confined in the dreaded Control Unit....

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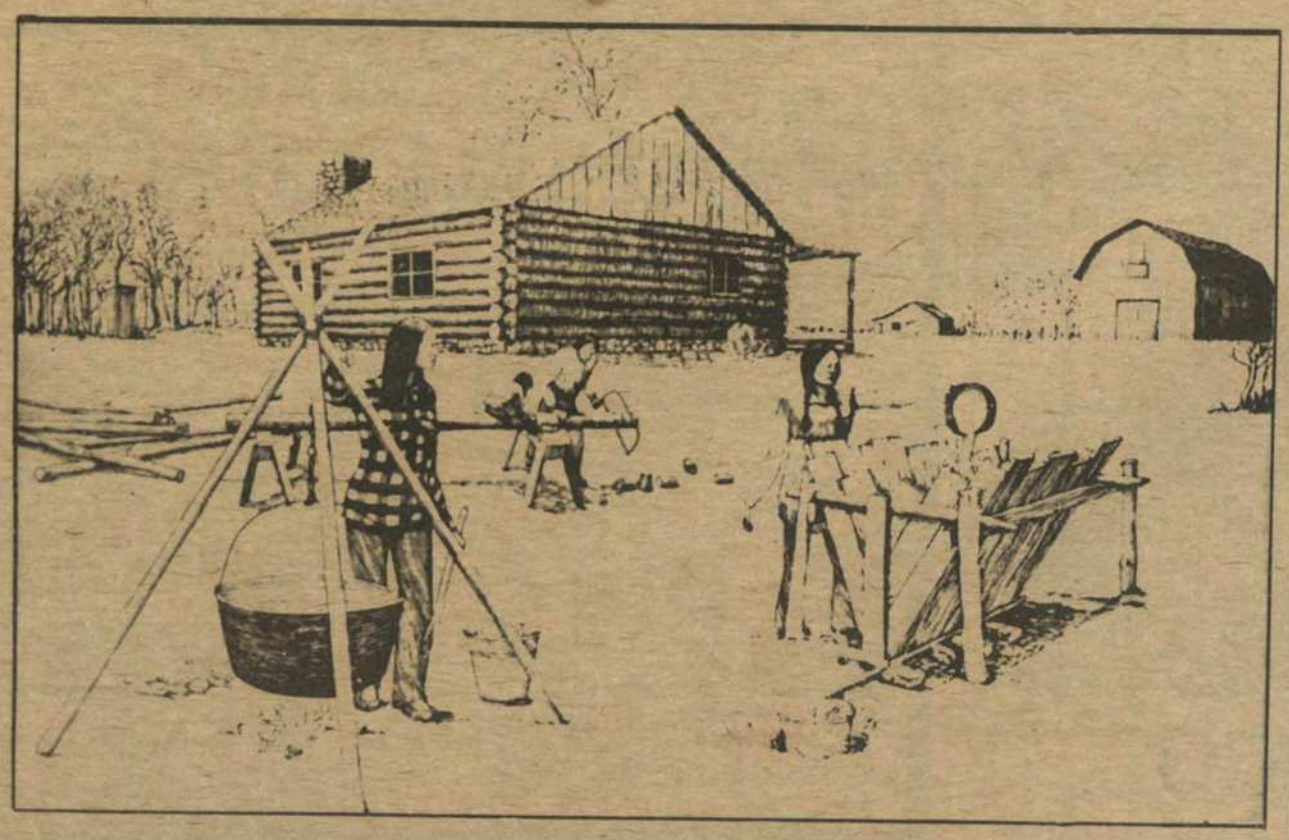

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